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THE COMMONITORIUM OF VINCENTIUS OF LERINS

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THE COMMONITORIUM

OF

VINCENTIUS OF LERINS

EDITED BY

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καινῶς οὐ καινά.

Donec spiro, sano dogmati adsum.

NESTORIUS, apud Marium Mercatorem.

I may happely erre as others before me have done, but an heretike by the help of Almighty God I will never be.

R. HOOKER, MS note on the title-leaf of the 'Christian Letter.'

PREFACE

THE lack of an English annotated edition of the Commonitorium has long been felt by students of Patristic Literature. Translations there are in plenty, but no edition of any critical value has ever been published in this country. The present is an attempt to supply the want. The importance of this treatise in regard to the question of Tradition, the permanent value of the Rule of Vincentius, and the prominent part played in controversy both ancient and recent by his famous definition of orthodoxy, all combine to place this work in a somewhat different position from that occupied by other writings of a similar nature. It has been variously called 'a masterpiece of theological reasoning,' 'a monument of faith,' 'a golden book,' 'a work small in size but great in virtue.' Its doctrinal value has never been seriously disputed and particularly now is it held in high esteem, inasmuch as there is an increasing tendency in various schools of modern religious thought to go back to the primary truths of Christianity which make up the Catholic Faith.

In preparing this edition I have received help from various sources. Chiefly am I indebted to Dr Mason, the General Editor of the Series in which this appears, who has not only encouraged me throughout the work, but has also given me from time to time much

invaluable advice and assistance. M. Henri Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, facilitated my labours while I was at work in that library and has since sent me some important evidence with regard to the dates of the MSS of the Commonitorium there. To Professor A. Souter of Aberdeen I am also grateful for valuable help, especially with regard to late Latin forms and usages. I would moreover acknowledge suggestions of various kinds received from Professor Burkitt and Dr Nairn.

The Introduction deals almost exclusively with the life and views of Vincentius and with different aspects of his work. For a description and history of the famous monastery in which he resided the reader is referred to other sources of information, as for instance *The History of the Islands of the Lerins* by Dr Cooper-Marsdin (Cambridge, 1913). In the third chapter I have endeavoured to examine some of the problems raised by the Vincentian Canon,—somewhat inadequately, I fear, inasmuch as the subject has far-reaching issues and demands larger treatment than the scope of this work permits.

It remains for me to hope that this edition, in spite of all its imperfections, will not be unwelcome to those who wish to have in their hands a revised text of this classic treatise.

R. S. M.

LINCOLN,
September, 1915

CONTENTS

PAGE

NOTES ON THE APPARATUS CRITICUS . . . x

INTRODUCTION

CHAP.

I. On the Authorship and Contents of the Commonitorium xi

II. Vincentius and Augustinianism . . xxii

III. On the Rule of Vincentius, its Difficulties and its Bearing on Modern Christianity xxxii

IV. On the Latinity and Style of the Commonitorium lv

V. On the Biblical Quotations in the Commonitorium lxi

VI. On the Relationship of the Commonitorium to the Symbolum 'Quicumque,' commonly called the Creed of St Athanasius . . lxvi

VII. History of the Text

I. List of the most important editions . . . lxxiii

II. Manuscripts . . . lxxvii

III. Translations . . . lxxxiv

VIII. Bibliography lxxxvi

TEXT AND NOTES 1

INDEXES 137

NOTES ON THE *APPARATUS CRITICUS*

The text of the present edition is based on a new collation of the four manuscripts of the Commonitorium of Vincentius preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which are the only manuscripts now available, and on a fresh survey of the readings of the chief editions. In the textual notes:

A = cod. Paris 13,386 (Corbeiensis), saec. VIII–IX.
B = cod. Paris 2172 (Colbertinus), saec. IX–X.
Γ = cod. Paris 2785, saec. X–XI.
Δ = cod. Paris 2173, saec. XIII.
s = Sichardus, Basle, 1528 (editio princeps).
c = Costerius, Louvain, 1552.
p = Pithoeus, Paris, 1586.
b^1 = Baluzius, Paris, 1663.
b^2 = ,, Paris, 1669.
b^3 = ,, Paris, 1684.
k = Klüpfel, Vienna, 1809.
j = Jülicher, Leipzig, 1895.
r = Rauschen, Bonn, 1906.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

ON THE AUTHORSHIP AND CONTENTS OF THE COMMONITORIUM

The treatise known as the Commonitorium was written during the first half of the fifth century by a theologian who adopted the pseudonym of Peregrinus. In late Latin this word, combining the two ideas of a traveller through this earthly life and a recluse as regards the world, came to be used of one leading the monastic life. With this meaning, apparently, the author used it of himself. The title Commonitorium was usually applied to a list of written instructions carried as an aid to memory by one entrusted with a commission, and the writer's words shew that he meant the term to be taken in the sense of 'memoranda' and intended the present treatise to serve in the first instance as his 'Own Remembrancer,' his 'Wayfarer's Note-book.' The authorship of this work was already attributed to Vincentius of Lerins by Gennadius of Marseilles writing between 490 and 500, and this identification has been generally accepted by later writers[1]. In his work *De inlustribus ecclesiae scriptoribus*

[1] The proposed identification of Vincentius Lerinensis with Marius Mercator, suggested by Dr R. Poirel, Nancy, 1895, has been thoroughly refuted by Dr H. Koch (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, 1899).

Gennadius sums up the little that is known of Vincentius, apart from the opening chapters of the Commonitorium, in the following passage: 'Vincentius, a native of Gaul, dwelling in the monastery of Lerinum, a priest learned in the Holy Scriptures and well-trained in a knowledge of theological doctrine, composed in a polished and lucid style, with a view to ending the propagation of heretical teaching, a very powerful treatise, not written in his own name, but entitled *Peregrinus against Heretics*. But inasmuch as he lost the greater part of the second book, the manuscript of which was stolen, he summed up the substance of it briefly, attached it to the first part and published it in one book. He died in the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian[1].'

From the Commonitorium itself, if we may assume that Peregrinus and Vincentius are the same, it would appear that V.'s early years had been spent in secular pursuits. It has been supposed by some that these included military service. This however is doubtful, for the term 'saecularis militia[2]' of which he makes use is probably metaphorical. But, however that may be, it is quite clear that he had received a thorough training in the schools of grammar, literature, rhetoric and theology. He was, moreover, famous for his

[1] Vincentius natione Gallus apud monasterium Lerinensis insulae presbyter, uir in scripturis sanctis doctus et notitia ecclesiasticorum dogmatum sufficienter instructus, composuit ad uitanda haereticorum collegia nitido satis et aperto sermone ualidissimam disputationem quam absconso nomine suo attitulauit 'Peregrini aduersum haereticos.' Cuius operis quia secundi libri maximam in schedulis partem a quibusdam furatam perdidit, recapitulato eius paucis sermonibus sensu primo compegit et in uno libro edidit. Moritur Theodosio et Valentiniano regnantibus.

Gen. *De Inlustr. Script.* LXIV (Bernoulli's edition).

[2] See note *ad loc.*

eloquence. Bishop Eucherius of Lyons, in his address to his son Salonius (A.D. 445), who was a pupil of Salvianus at Lerins, speaks of V. as a 'holy man, preeminent alike for eloquence and wisdom[1].' At what period in his life he was called to the priesthood is unknown, but his writings give evidence of that knowledge of the Holy Scriptures of which Gennadius speaks, and shew that he was well-versed, as the same author says, in all the theological controversies of his day. From the turmoils of worldly life he retired to the monastery of Lerinum, founded by Honoratus, bishop of Arles (A.D. 410), in St Honorat, one of the two islands now called Lérins, which are not far from the modern Cannes. The original names of these islands were Lero and Lerina, and they are referred to in Strabo, Ptolemy and Pliny[2]. The monastery of Lerins was illustrious from the fifth century onwards as the home of some of the most famous saints and scholars of the age[3]. It sent forth bishop after bishop to the Gallican Church, and provided the world with one or two masterpieces of theological literature. In joining this community V. followed the example of Lupus, bishop of Troyes, whose brother many have supposed him to have been[4], and also of Hilary of Arles, whose sister Lupus had married. It was in this seclusion that he wrote his Commonitorium, about

[1] Sanctus uir, eloquentia pariter sapientiaque praeeminens. Euch. *Instructiones ad Salonium.*

[2] Strabo, IV 1. 10, Λήρων; Ptolemy, II, IX 21, Ληρώνη; Pliny, *H. N.* III 2, Lero et Lerina aduersus Antipolim.

[3] See *The History of the Islands of the Lerins*, Cooper-Marsdin, Cambridge, 1913.

[4] The identification of our Vincentius with the Vincentius, brother of Lupus of Troyes, is denied by many, e.g. by Tillemont, and must, owing to lack of evidence, remain an open question.

three years, as he tells us himself[1], after the Council of Ephesus and while Cyril of Alexandria was still living, that is to say in the year 434. If we may accept the statement of Gennadius that V. died in the reign of Theodosius and Valentinian, and there is no reason to doubt it, he cannot have lived beyond 450, since Theodosius died in July of that year. V. finds a place in the Roman Martyrology, being commemorated on May 24.

The main object of V. in writing the Commonitorium is described by himself thus: He wished to provide for his own use a general principle whereby he might be able to discern Catholic truth from heresy, and it was his intention to keep it for reference and consult it from time to time to refresh his memory. The general principle which, in accordance with the advice of his teachers, he adopts is the authority of Holy Scripture, to which in the first instance all questions must be referred. Nor would any further test be required, were it not for the fact that men do not always agree in their interpretation of Holy Writ; besides which heretics also appeal to it in support of their own views. To this test, therefore, another must be added, namely, the tradition of the Catholic Church. V. accordingly lays down the proposition that for a sound exegesis of Holy Scripture, all interpretation must follow *oecumenicity*[2], *antiquity* and *general consent*: oecumenicity, when the sense adopted is that of the Church in all parts of the world; antiquity, when it

[1] Ch. xxix.

[2] To translate 'uniuersitas' by 'universality' is perhaps to create a confusion with the idea of 'consent.' It is plain that V. meant 'oecumenicity,' i.e. the character of being world-wide as the Catholic Church is.

is that which has been held from the earliest times; and consent, when it has the agreement of all or almost all bishops and doctors whose orthodoxy has never been in question. This is the famous Rule: 'Teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est': a maxim first propounded by V., and which is still regarded by many as the touchstone by which a doctrine can be tried[1].

Though V. claims no credit for originality, his work is a brilliant defence of the value of tradition, provided tradition is regarded not as an isolated factor but is linked closely with the authority of Holy Scripture. Of special interest is the question raised in ch. XXIII as to whether holding fast to tradition is compatible with progress in religion. This V. answers in the affirmative, with the condition that the progress must be real growth and not alteration. The old truths, he says, as generation succeeds generation must be taught in a new way, that the light may grow clearer and that dull assent may give place to intelligent appreciation.

It was not the purpose of V. merely to refute the heretical opinions held prior to his time, although several sections give the appearance of this. Instances like Arianism and Nestorianism are quoted by him only to confirm the effectiveness of his canon, which he endeavours to set forth in great detail. And indeed V. has well expressed the true spirit of catholicity, namely that the Church has from the beginning been in possession of all the truth necessary for salvation, and that in matters of faith novelty can never bring progress, much less correction of error. In this respect he is particularly helpful in what he says about the function of General Councils. He points out that they

[1] For a discussion of this question see ch. III.

never imposed any new doctrine, but merely defined the old truths which had been handed down from apostolic times, and restated clearly and distinctly in phrases suitable to the age certain features of the Christian Faith which it was necessary to emphasize in order to refute some prevailing heretical opinion.

It has for some time been customary, especially on the Continent, to maintain that whereas the purpose of V. in writing the Commonitorium was apparently quite general, namely to formulate a principle that would serve to distinguish orthodoxy from heresy, yet underlying the whole was another object, viz. opposition to the new doctrine of Augustine respecting Predestination and Grace. That Augustinianism is alluded to and by implication condemned several times in the course of the treatise cannot be denied, but that the main purpose of V. is to combat that doctrine may well be disputed. It seems much more reasonable and natural to take V. at his word and to believe that he wished to give a rule that should apply equally to all heresies. The theories of Nestorius, Pelagius, and others, though dead, were not so utterly forgotten as to require no warnings from the writer of the Commonitorium to his contemporaries, and V. seems to have far too great an interest in the Christological and Trinitarian controversies to be using them merely as examples to be applied in another direction. The opposition of V. to doctrines clearly Augustinian is due to the fact that in his eyes they did not and could not conform to his canon. Finding 'privatas opiniunculas[1]' held by the followers of Augustine which are contrary to the ancient consensus of the Church, he feels compelled, with all respect for Augustine

[1] Ch. xxviii.

personally and therefore without mentioning his name, to brand as a dangerous and soul-deadening heresy the teaching which his disciples defended. A consideration, however, of this question and its bearing on the orthodoxy of V. must be reserved for the next section.

A brief account of the substance of the treatise is given in the notes at the beginning of the various chapters[1].

The Commonitorium originally consisted of two books, but of the second only the concluding portion survives. All the manuscripts contain the statement at the end of ch. XXVIII[2] that the second Commonitorium has been lost and that only the conclusion, that is, the recapitulation remains. Gennadius found the work in the same condition and explains the strange circumstance by saying that the book was stolen from the author, who to remedy the defect added a short summary, and, placing the new chapters after the first part, issued the whole in one book. This statement is by no means a satisfactory solution of the problem and is probably, as Czaplas and Koch suggest, nothing but a guess on the part of Gennadius. In the first place, there is in the Commonitorium itself nothing to warrant such an assertion. The language of the last portion is such as to imply that it formed part of the original work and is not a substitute for it[3]. For instance, when V. spoke of the end of Book II (in huius

[1] A very good analysis of the Commonitorium is to be found in Harnack's *History of Dogma* (English Trans. 1897), vol. III, ch. iii, 'On Tradition,' pp. 230–233.

[2] With regard to the numbering of the chapters, two systems are found, neither quite free from objection. The earlier, which dates from the sixteenth century, is marked in the text by Arabic numerals, the later and better system, which was adopted by Baluze in 1684, is marked in Roman figures.

[3] The tenses of the summary (adhibuimus etc.) are perfects 'We have used,' not historic preterites 'We used.'

secundi fine), it is unlikely, if this had been written after the loss, that he would have omitted to state that the book had been stolen, or at any rate that it existed no more. On the contrary, he asserts that his sole reason for recapitulation is to aid his memory (ch. XXXIII *ad fin.*); and certain indications imply that he had both Commonitoria before his eyes at the time of writing this summary[1]. This argument also effectually disposes of the theory[2] that the summary was written before the main portion of the second book to help the writer to do justice to his subject and that the main portion was perhaps never written.

Secondly, from chapter XXIX onwards we have a recapitulation not only of the second Commonitorium but of the first as well. It is true that the portion dealing with Book II is seven times as long as that dealing with Book I, but the fact that a summary of Book I had already been given at the end of that book is quite sufficient reason to account for this. If the concluding portion had been intended to take the place of Book II, there would have been no need to give even a brief summary of Book I again.

Thirdly, in spite of the statement of Gennadius[3], it is by no means certain that V. published his book at all. The author more than once asserts that he only composed the treatise for his own private use[4]. But

[1] (*a*) quae duobus *his* commonitoriis dicta sunt, in huius secundi fine recapitulemus (XXIX *ad init.*).

(*b*) quos ad confirmandam memoriam *hic quoque* recensere nequaquam superfluum est (XXIX *ad fin.*).

[2] Mentioned as possible but not highly probable by Jülicher in Hauck-Herzog *Realencyklopädie*, 'Vincenz von Lerin.'

[3] 'in uno libro edidit,' Gennad. *loc. cit.*

[4] Dr Koch believes that the Preface alone proves that V. did not himself publish the Commonitorium. 'To say that he edited

though V. may not have published his own work, he certainly contemplated the possibility of its being read by other eyes than his own, for he asks for lenient criticism in case it should pass into other hands, and apologizes for defects of style. Moreover, he says that the needs of the time and the growing influx of new heresies compel him to write his thoughts down, and he does so in such a way as to shew that he is labouring to convince others and is not merely writing for his own edification. Accordingly it seems not unreasonable to suppose, as indeed his promise of continual revision (ch. I *ad fin.*) seems to imply, that he intended to leave the book as a kind of 'Last Will and Testament' to be published after his death.

If then Gennadius is wrong and the first part of the second book was not stolen from the author, another hypothesis must be sought which will account for the existing state of the text. The length of the concluding summary is probably due to the somewhat dull and tedious nature of the missing portion[1]. V. had foreseen that owing to the minuteness of detail of the second book and because of the mass of matter relating to the Acts of the Ephesine Council which he had included, many people, arguing from his own feelings,

a work containing the phrase: "if this by chance slips out of my hands" is to accuse V. of the greatest folly' (*Die 'Edition' des Commonitoriums*, Leipzig, 1907). Dr Jülicher on the other hand takes the opposite view (Hauck-Herzog *Realencyklopädie*, 'Vincenz von Lerin'). I incline to think that V. intended it to be published after his death and may even have left instructions to that effect.

[1] Dr Koch suggests another possible reason for this lengthy summary, namely that at the end of the second book V. perceived that several blank pages remained, and to fill up these he conceived the idea of a general recapitulation (*Theol. Quartalschr.* LXXXI, pp. 426–428, Tübingen, 1899).

might find it wearisome reading[1]. Therefore, for convenience of reference, he gave an epitome of Book II, contenting himself with repeating from Book I his main rule in two short paragraphs. The result was that the main part of Book II disappeared. The fact that Gennadius in 490 had never seen the complete work, and the statement found in all the manuscripts as to the loss of the second book, make it tolerably clear that Book II was never published at all, and that the original editors—in all probability V.'s fellow-monks at Lerins—were responsible for the omission.

It has been suggested by more than one authority that this omission was a deliberate act due to the more pronounced polemical character of the second book, and that it was suppressed because of some statements made in it which were embarrassingly clear in their allusion to Augustine and his school. This seems to be not only unlikely in itself but in direct conflict with what the book itself says. In ch. XXVIII V. says: 'Sed iam tempus est ut pollicitum proferamus exemplum' etc. The chapter implies that the whole of the second book was to be occupied with an account of the Council of Ephesus and the way in which that Council acted on the principle which V. lays down. In exact accordance with this announcement, the *résumé* makes no reference to anything else but the authority of Catholic antiquity and consent as applied to Nestorianism. If the loss of the main part of the book had been due to the cause alleged, then either V.'s repeated account of its contents is misleading, or the editor has tampered with V.'s summaries as well as with the book at large.

[1] ut memoria mea prolixitatis fastidio non obruatur (ch. XXXIII *ad fin.*).

This seems a wholly unnecessary theory. That V. had Semipelagian leanings cannot be questioned, as will be seen in the next section. That he may well have had in view the danger of being carried away by Augustine's influence seems quite likely. But it is too much to suppose that all the elaborate paraphernalia of the Ephesine Council was only an illustrative detail to shew how Augustinianism should be dealt with.

The loss then of the second book may have been due simply and solely to the existence of so long and exhaustive a summary.

With regard, therefore, to the present condition of the Commonitorium, we may reasonably conclude that V. did not edit his book himself but left it behind for publication after his death, and that his intention to revise it was never fulfilled. Between the year 450 when V. died and 490 when Gennadius wrote, one of the monks of the monastery of Lerinum found the work and published it, omitting the greater part of Book II. It is possible that he was personally uninterested in the minute historical details of which it largely consisted, or he may have thought that they might obscure the main argument and perplex the reader. In any case he probably felt that the concluding summary was sufficient by itself, and in the course of time the omission was accounted for by loss or theft.

CHAPTER II

VINCENTIUS AND AUGUSTINIANISM

The theory was first put forward by Gerard Voss[1] and was developed later by Noris[2] that V. was tainted with Semipelagianism, that is, the modified form of Pelagianism of which John Cassian of Massilia was the chief representative. Before discussing this question, it may be as well to give here a brief description of the views thus referred to. Pelagius had controverted the doctrine of original sin taught by Augustine, and regarded the free-will of man as all-sufficient to effect his salvation. By free-will Pelagius meant absolute equipoise of moral choice, which enables us at any time, whatever our previous history may have been, to choose between evil and good. Augustine maintained that free-will and the power to keep God's law are, owing to the inherent taint of sin, a lost gift which only the special grace of God can restore. In the eyes of Pelagius the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature, and of the consequent bondage of the will, cuts the nerve of all human effort. Accordingly though he did not deny 'grace,' he thought of it as only assisting us to do what we could accomplish without it. Augustine opposed this depreciation of the influence of grace as striking at the very root of Christianity. But though he was successful in pointing out the errors of Pelagius, he was not so successful in recommending his own views. From the first there were those who disliked his uncompromising severity, even among those to whom

[1] G. J. Vossius *Hist. Pelag.* p. 575 (Lugd. Bat. 1618).
[2] Card. Norisius *Hist. Pelag.* II 2. 3. 11 (Patav. 1673).

the optimistic creed of Pelagius failed to commend itself. These gradually formed themselves into a middle party, making regeneration a work of co-operation between the human and the divine will. To this party the name of Semipelagian was given, but it was a name they never applied to themselves. Indeed they disowned all sympathy with the Pelagian school and might with equal appropriateness have been called Semi-Augustinians. Their opponents refused to recognize any middle party and regarded their position as an offshoot of Pelagianism. This, however, was manifestly unfair, and their views can only be condemned in so far as they embodied the root principle of Pelagianism, namely the denial of the paramount importance of Divine Grace. They admitted that the whole human race is involved in the sin of Adam, and has both an hereditary and an actual taint; that men are naturally inclined to evil; that their wills are prevented by the grace of God, and that no man is sufficient of himself to begin or to complete any good work. But though they acknowledged that the first call to salvation sometimes comes to the unwilling and is the direct result of preventing grace, as in the case of Matthew and Paul, yet they held that ordinarily grace depends on the working of a man's own will, as in the case of Zacchaeus and the penitent thief. Furthermore, they rejected the idea of an absolute predestination as destructive of all motive to exertion, acknowledging only a predestination contingent upon foreseen merits and perseverance, and they protested against the doctrine which ascribes to human nature nothing but what is evil and perverse. These views, though often called Massilian owing to Cassian's connexion with Marseilles, were not confined to

Massilia but were held by the majority of the clergy in Southern Gaul, and were opposed by Augustine in two treatises, one on Predestination[1] and the other on the gift of Perseverance[2]. It has been well said that Pelagianism represented men as morally sound, Semipelagianism as morally sick, and Augustinianism as morally dead. The Pelagian doctrine in all its forms was finally rejected by a council held at Arausio (Orange) in A.D. 529 where twenty-five canons were drawn up against both Pelagianism and Semipelagianism, which owing to their moderation and good sense met with general acceptance throughout Western Christendom. Semipelagianism however survived and became known in much later theology as Arminianism.

The question whether V. really held Semipelagian views is answered in the affirmative by most modern critics[3], though many theologians in the past[4] have denied the charge. The reasons for believing that the author of the Commonitorium held these views are both external and internal:

The external evidence is as follows:

(i) V. lived in a Semipelagian atmosphere. Lerinum was a stronghold of Semipelagianism and the abbot of the monastery at the time when V. wrote his book was the Semipelagian Faustus, afterwards bishop of Riez. Indeed, as M. Ampère says[5], the leading champions of Semipelagianism came from this abbey. All authorities are agreed that the great questions of free-will, predestination and grace were nowhere more vehemently agitated than in the monastic schools of Lerins and

[1] Aug. *De Predestinatione Sanctorum.*
[2] Aug. *De Dono Perseuerantiae.*
[3] Kihn, Bardenhewer, Jülicher, Rauschen, Koch, etc.
[4] Baronius, Bellarmine, Labbe, Papebroch, and the Bollandists.
[5] *L'Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. II, pp. 23–28.

St Victor and nowhere did the doctrines of St Augustine find more vigorous and determined opposition than in these abbeys[1].

(ii) Another work besides the Commonitorium which bears the name of V. is a collection of sixteen objections to the teaching of St Augustine. These *Obiectiones Vincentianae*[2] which criticized adversely Augustine's doctrine of Predestination are beyond question Semipelagian. Up to recent times it has been a much debated point whether these *Obiectiones* should be attributed to V. of Lerins or to some other Vincent. To Dr Koch belongs the credit of shewing the relationship in matter and language between the *Obiectiones* and the Commonitorium, and of proving that they were written by the same hand[3]. To these *Obiectiones* Prosper replied one by one and supported his refutation by letters from Celestine of Rome in Augustine's favour. Accordingly V. is thought[4] to have again taken up his pen and under a pseudonym to have answered Prosper's *Responsiones* with great caution in the Commonitorium. The experience which he had had with his *Obiectiones* had taught him prudence, and the reflexion that the Apostolic See had in the meantime spoken caused him to observe greater reserve in his second work.

At the same time there are strong reasons—as was stated in the first chapter—for maintaining that

[1] Cf. Fauriel *Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, vol. I, p. 404; Guizot *Histoire de la civilisation en France*, vol. I, p. 121; Neander *Church History*, vol. IV, p. 399 (T. and T. Clark, 1849).

[2] Known to us only by the reply of Prosper, to be found in the appendix to vol. X of the Benedictine Edition of St Augustine's works.

[3] H. Koch *Vincenz von Lerin und Gennadius*, Leipzig, 1907.

[4] Both Koch (*op. cit.*) and Jülicher (Hauck-Herzog *Realenc.*) take this view.

opposition to the doctrine of Predestination was not the main object of the writer. That object was the formulation of a general canon that should apply equally to all heresies. He wished to leave behind him at his death a guiding rule to be a benefit to the world at large. The Commonitorium, therefore, was not primarily intended by V. to be a polemical treatise. That it became such was due to the nature of his subject, and because he found that, according to his canon, the views of Augustine conflicted with the consensus of the ancient Church. As a matter of fact Augustine himself referred for correction[1] to the doctors of the Church. V. merely takes up this appeal[2] and indirectly protested against the extravagances of Augustinianism by hinting that they could not find support in the consent 'omnium...sacerdotum pariter et magistrorum,' that is, of bishops and doctors who had a right by virtue of their office or their learning to be heard.

Nor is it necessary to suppose that the pseudonym has any bearing on the polemical nature of the work[3]. The fact that V. did not sign his name to the treatise may well have been due to modesty, especially if his own introductory words are to be believed, rather than to lack of courage, which there is no justification for imputing to the author. That there are allusions to views which were held by the Augustinians is clear.

[1] *De Dono Perseuerantiae*, 68.

[2] This coincidence is pointed out by Dr Kidd, 'How can I be sure that I am a Catholic?' p. 15, in *Modern Oxford Tracts* (Longmans, 1914).

[3] The contrary view is held by Bardenhewer (*Patrologie*) and Kihn in Wetzer und Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, who think that V. purposely suppressed his name in order to spread his work in wider circles, and from fear of opposition. See note *ad loc.*

That sometimes V. speaks in language that seems to betoken a pronounced hostility to the holders of those views cannot be denied. But it must be remembered that the Commonitorium was written in the heat of the crisis, at a time when the struggle was most keen between the supporters of Augustine and the 'Middle Party' to which V. belonged.

The internal evidence for the Semipelagian views of the author of the treatise is as follows:

(i) V. not only assails doctrines which are clearly Augustinian but also displays great vehemence against them. The reason for his indirect and covert method of attacking Augustine is easily seen. Not only did V. not wish to rob him of respect after his death, but it would have been dangerous to make a pointed and direct onslaught on a bishop and theologian of such eminence, especially since Celestine had in his letter to the Gallic clergy vigorously taken his part and had expressly forbidden them to speak of him with disrespect. But though Augustine's name is nowhere mentioned in the Commonitorium, it seems clear throughout the treatise that his is one of the special cases which V. had in mind. God permits even great men like Origen, Tertullian and others to go astray (chs. XVII and XVIII). No one is proof against error, 'quamuis ille sanctus et doctus, quamuis episcopus.' To whom does V. refer but Augustine? Cyprian's error (ch. VI) regarding rebaptism is another parallel. Stephen who withstood it was opposing an African bishop of great sanctity. Therefore he sets an example to the present occupant of the Apostolic See as to how he should conduct himself against the newest innovation likewise arising from an African bishop, Augustine. And V. has a warning for the followers of Augustine too. To

appeal to the writings of one who died at peace with the Church, though perhaps in error on some points, and to fan up again the fire in his extinguished ashes (ch. VII) is like the impiety of Ham, who not only did not conceal the nakedness of his father but even exposed him to mockery. Then, again, the reference to the possible corruption and subsequent falsification of the writings of Origen, 'of whose great gifts time would fail him to tell,' and the mention of new and upstart doctrines which need to be arrested before they corrupt the writings of the Fathers, appear to be a disguised allusion to the predestinarian views of Augustine, which were exaggerated by his followers into a fatalism excluding God's consideration of human merit. Thus the minds of V.'s readers are not offended by direct polemic, but are warned against views which all must recognise as those of Augustine and his later adherents.

(ii) The nearest approach to an open reference to Augustine is in ch. XXVI (in ecclesia sua, id est, in communionis suae conuenticulo), where V. defines as heretical what the school of Augustine actually taught. Here V. expresses views that are definitely Semipelagian. He implies that the grace of God is not confined to a body of elect persons, but that it is conferred on all who strive for it, and he calls those men heretics who teach that grace is given by God to men without any effort on their part, if they do not 'ask and seek and knock.' In this expression V. is making use of one of the technical terms of the Semipelagians of his day. It is especially referred to in a letter of Prosper to Augustine[1] which says that the Massilian clergy

[1] Epistle CCXXV among Augustine's letters, § 3 'remoueri... omnem industriam tollique uirtutes si Dei constitutio humanas praeueniat uoluntates.'

assert that 'if the decree of God anticipate human will, all effort is removed and virtue taken away.' They teach that they 'can attain to the grace by which we are new-born in Christ by natural powers, namely by asking and seeking and knocking[1].' In Augustine's reply this view is directly condemned. 'They are wrong,' he says, 'who think that the impulse by which we ask and seek and knock originates with us and is not given to us[2].'

(iii) The letter of Celestine referred to in ch. XXXII was addressed to certain bishops in Southern Gaul. Prosper and Hilary had travelled to Rome to complain of the connivance of certain of those bishops at the heretical teaching of their clergy. Celestine writes to those bishops, censuring them for ignoring an error in which by their silence they share, and then proceeds to charge them as follows: 'Rebuke these people; restrain their liberty of preaching. If the case be so, let novelty cease to assail antiquity, let restlessness cease to disturb the Church's peace[3].' Now by a clever piece of interpretation V. twists against Augustine's

[1] *Op. cit.* § 4. Possit suam dirigere uoluntatem atque ad hanc gratiam qua in Christo renascimur peruenire per naturalem scilicet facultatem, petendo, quaerendo, pulsando.

[2] Attendant ergo quomodo falluntur qui putant esse a nobis, non dari nobis, ut petamus, quaeramus, pulsemus. Et hoc esse dicunt, quod gratia praeceditur merito nostro, ut sequatur illa, cum accipimus petentes, et inuenimus quaerentes, aperiturque pulsantibus. Nec uolunt intellegere etiam hoc diuini muneris esse ut oremus, hoc est, petamus, quaeramus, atque pulsemus.

Aug. *De Dono Perseuerantiae*, 64.

[3] Ep. XXI ad episcopos Galliarum, Migne *P. L.* 50. 528 ff. where the text differs somewhat from that in the Commonitorium: 'Merito namque causa nos respicit si cum silentio faueamus errori. Ergo corripiantur huiusmodi; non sit his liberum habere pro uoluntate sermonem. Desinat, si ita res sunt, incessere nouitas uetustatem; desinat ecclesiarum quietem inquietudo turbare.'

disciples a charge that was originally intended for the Semipelagians. This was perceived long ago by the Benedictine Editors of St Augustine's works[1], who on this ground accused V. of a Semipelagian leaning. V.'s discussion as to the identity of the people referred to by the pronoun 'their' in the phrase 'restrain their liberty of preaching' (non sit his liberum habere pro uoluntate sermonem), and his repetition with almost feverish excitement of the words of Celestine 'if the case be thus' (si ita est), shew strong desire to remove the charge of innovation from the Semipelagians to their accusers. Who are the introducers of novelty? The Massilians, as Prosper says, or their calumniators? Not the Massilians, for they appeal, as is well known, to antiquity, but the followers of Augustine themselves. Novelty must be repressed. That is Augustinianism. The teaching of antiquity must continue. That is the catholic standpoint, and the standpoint of the party represented by V. himself. Accordingly in his Commonitorium he appeals to the catholic world not to rest content because Pelagius, Caelestius and Nestorius are no longer forces to reckon with, but to make a firm stand against all profane novelties, and for its guidance he lays down a canon which was, to his mind, an infallible test of Catholic Faith and a safe criterion for distinguishing truth from heresy.

There is reason, therefore, to think that in the controversy which had begun to rage round V. respecting Free-will and Grace he took up a definite position and belonged to the resolute opponents of the

[1] Hunc locum Vincentius Lirinensis sic a uero sensu contra Prosperum et Hilarium detorquet ut ipse haud iniuria in erroris Semipelagiani suspicionem ueniat. Vol. x, Appendix, col. 132.

new doctrine of Augustine among the Gallic clergy of the fifth century. There is no doubt that the vehemence wherewith the sole sufficiency of man's free-will was asserted by the Pelagians led Augustine, in dwelling on the power of grace, to employ language capable of so dangerous an interpretation that his authority has been claimed in support of one of the heresies most fatally paralysing to the conscience that the world has produced. Is it, then, surprising that V., while he condemned with great warmth Pelagianism again and again, opposed at the same time a doctrine which seemed to him to tend towards annihilating free-will and making man powerless in the hands of God to will or to refuse, and that he laid stress on the need of individual effort? Augustine's conception of predestination did not exclude God's consideration of human merit or man's free-will, but his doctrine was undoubtedly developed by his immediate followers into those extreme views which we associate to-day with the name 'Calvinism.' It is to meet this tendency that V. endeavours to formulate a test of true catholicism, and in doing so takes up what is practically a Semipelagian position. It is not unlikely that suspicion as to the orthodoxy of V. was one reason which caused his book to be so little read in the middle-ages that only four manuscripts of his work have come down to us.

To-day, however, Semipelagianism does not meet with very serious condemnation. In most respects its attitude was undoubtedly sound, and in steering a middle course between the dangerous extremes of Pelagianism on the one hand and ultra-Predestinarianism on the other, the Semipelagians rendered the Catholic Church a great service. With a little modification

in respect of Divine Grace, the value of which in regard to man's personal salvation they were in danger of underrating, the views of the middle party as represented by V. might be said to be the views of most theologians now.

CHAPTER III

ON THE RULE OF VINCENTIUS, ITS DIFFICULTIES AND ITS BEARING ON MODERN CHRISTIANITY

According to V., the Catholic Church possesses a twofold guide to faith—Holy Scripture and tradition. Holy Scripture, absolutely sufficient of itself, needs to be supplemented by the added authority of the Catholic Church on account of the possibility of perverted interpretations. To interpret the Scriptures correctly a man requires certain qualifications. Catholic tradition assists those who are in doubt as to any point of dogmatic truth. It supplies to Scripture what Scripture does not supply to itself, namely its true interpretation. Hence V. proposes a canon of orthodoxy in the widely known and often quoted maxim: 'teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est,' and so supplies us with a threefold test of Catholicity, namely, oecumenicity, antiquity and consent.

It is with manifest intention that the three conditions are placed in this order. First of all, in any uncertainty as to the true faith of the Church, or in any conflict of opinion as to the interpretation of a passage of Scripture, it is necessary to ascertain, as far as possible, the view with regard to the matter in

dispute held 'ubique,' that is, in all parts, as opposed to any one particular part. Moreover as the Church may have become contaminated and as the opinions held in various places do not always agree, recourse must also be had to antiquity which is obviously free from later heretical error. The view which has been held 'always' must be preferred to the view which has been held only in recent ages. But there is the possibility that an ancient authority may be quoted in favour of a false opinion. Therefore it is not enough that a view should have been held by an ancient father: it must be shewn that his view was shared by all, or practically all, as V. afterwards explains. In fact the clause 'quod ab omnibus' is thrown in—V. shews later on that it hardly takes the same rank as 'quod ubique' or 'quod semper'—in order to secure in former times what 'quod ubique' gives in the present. Any pronouncement, therefore, on the matter in question, agreed upon 'by all,' that is, by the general body of the Church, must be regarded as authoritative and is to be preferred to the opinion of particular teachers. And this includes as one of its first and most important elements the decisions of the great Councils of the early centuries. Where decisions on any particular points of doctrine have not been promulgated by councils, then the utterances of the acknowledged Fathers of the Church on those points are to be examined and their consensus of opinion must be regarded as authoritative.

Thus Vincentius of Lerins appears as the first real theorist of tradition, and he takes his stand on the fact that the commission of the Church was to 'keep the deposit'—to 'keep the form of sound words' entrusted to her at the beginning. This injunction of St Paul

in the eyes of V. means nothing more nor less than that the Catholic Church is the court of appeal in all disputes about the meaning of the Scriptures and has authority to settle questions of faith and doctrine provided that its decisions are based on the consensus of Catholic antiquity. For bishops and particularly for the occupants of the See of Rome V. has considerable respect, but the resolution even of a council of bishops would have been rejected by him unless like the Council of Ephesus they issued their decrees only as expressing the consensus of the ancient Church.

The views of V., however, are, as he himself declares, not entirely his own. At the commencement of his treatise he disclaims any originality. As a matter of fact, he gathers up the thoughts and hints on this subject scattered through the works of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian and even Augustine himself. But to him belongs the credit of having summed them up in the remarkable and historic formula which has, to a great extent, imposed itself upon subsequent ages. Considering the uncertainty with regard to the conception of tradition that existed before the time of V., posterity owes a great debt of gratitude to him for his attempt to introduce some measure of light and certainty into this question.

Until the seventeenth century the Rule of Vincentius was unanimously accepted. From Tertullian to Bossuet the argument never varied: new idea, certain sign of error and schism. Bossuet even gave the Rule new life and developed it with his usual eloquence in his polemic against the Protestants. He maintained that the teaching and essential institutions of the Catholic Church have always been identically the same. Anything that is held orthodox in the Church to-day, whether it

be the papacy or the episcopate, the seven sacraments or the cherished doctrines of Rome, must have been delivered in detail by Christ to His apostles and by them to their successors. All that is actually and directly traceable to the apostolic age is orthodox, and similarly, all that is orthodox must have come direct and whole from Christ Himself.

It is obvious that even in those days there was considerable difficulty in reconciling many points of Roman Catholic doctrine with the canon of V. Various methods were resorted to. One was the appeal to what is called the 'Disciplina arcani,' that is, to instructions given by Christ to the apostles during the forty days between His Resurrection and Ascension. According to this theory, which was put forward by Roman controversialists from Bellarmine onwards, Christ gave His apostles much minute direction as to the government of the Church which was not written down nor was it intended to be divulged openly, but only to be handed on from one ruler of Christ's Church to another, being confined to the knowledge of those in authority and dispensed gradually according as circumstances might demand. In this way any point of doctrine could be claimed as genuine tradition without the possibility of denial, nor could the world know how many more apparently new tenets were destined to be put forth in the future with the same authority. As a matter of fact, if there had really been any esoteric doctrinal deposit of vital importance, the secret could not have been kept for any considerable time, certainly not for centuries. Even if it had not escaped in any other way, it would have been revealed by apostates. Accordingly, this vague appeal, which preserves 'quod semper' but only at the expense of

'quod ubique, quod ab omnibus' was soon laid aside as a weapon of apologetics.

Another method of reconciling new doctrine with the canon of V. was that of taking the silence of the Fathers as equivalent to affirmation. Silence, it was urged, was merely due to the fact of universal acceptance. No one had questioned the point in dispute. Had the ancients been asked for their opinion or had they been challenged on the subject, their answer would have been the same as that of the Church to-day.

Such reasoning as this, however, resembles building on sand, and inasmuch as all 'argumentum ex silentio' is precarious in the extreme and useless for controversial purposes, those who still strove to adhere to the Rule of V. without abandoning modern views resorted to the theory of development. 'There were,' it was argued, 'two factors in the theory of Vincentius. The Church had received two graces to enable her to accomplish her mission as guardian of the truth: (i) the grace of fidelity in preserving the primitive faith, and (ii) the grace of inspiration and discernment to complete this faith. Thus the animating spirit of the Church is not only receptive, it is also productive and revelatory.' This theory was first put forward with special emphasis by Newman in his *Essay on Development*. He maintained that the Church has, as it were, an inner soul, a presiding genius which lives and is active in her, constantly manifesting itself in fresh creation. This genius, which is the spirit of the apostles, the spirit of our Lord Himself, presides over the development of the Church and is an ever new light guiding mankind by progressive stages into all truth. But even so, Roman theologians could not accept the Rule of

Vincentius absolutely. Cardinal Franzelin in his celebrated treatise[1] devoted a special chapter to the Vincentian canon, in which he declared the Rule to be true in a positive sense (sensu affirmante) but not true in an exclusive sense (sensu excludente et negante). 'It is enough,' he says, 'to have shewn a consent of faith prevailing in the Church at any time in the apostolic succession in order to vindicate the Divine revelation and apostolic tradition as to any head of doctrine.' But this abrogates part of the threefold test, namely 'antiquity,' and allows change (permutatio), which V. rigorously forbids. From this it is but a step to abandon the maxim altogether, which has actually been done in modern Roman Catholicism. Indeed, after the Vatican Council and the declaration of the Infallibility of the Pope it had begun to be seen that adherence to the Vincentian Rule was not only unnecessary but impossible. 'La Tradizione sono io' was the claim of Pius IX. Cardinal Manning indeed went so far as to say that the appeal to antiquity was both treason and heresy—treason, because it rejected the Divine voice of the Church at this hour, and heresy, because it denied that voice to be Divine. If this view is adopted, the preeminence of Scripture is destroyed; the pronouncements of Pius IX and Leo XIII are as truly inspired by God's Spirit and are to be received with as much reverence as the utterances of St Peter and St Paul. Pio Nono's words meant, not: 'Receive this because it has been held "ubique, semper et ab omnibus,"' but 'because it is laid down now by me.'

There is no doubt, however, that for those who

[1] Card. Franzelin *De Divina Traditione et Scriptura*, ed. 3, Rome, 1882, Thesis XXIV.

believe the Christian revelation the main principles put forward by V. are sound. He says that it is generally recognized that Faith possesses two invaluable supports: the authority of Holy Scripture and the tradition of the Catholic Church. Scripture first, then tradition. Scripture declaring, tradition explaining. Tradition interpreting Scripture, Scripture verifying tradition. Scripture must not be interpreted in a way that conflicts with the interpretation that has been placed upon it everywhere, always, and by all. The New Testament was written in the bosom of the inspired Society and represents its highest inspiration. The man who comes to it from outside and interprets it without reference to Church ideas and contrary to them is an intruder, meddling with what he is not qualified to understand. Even within the Church the man who undertakes to interpret obscure passages of Scripture and to found a system upon them may very justly be expected to shew that his interpretation is in keeping with the general body of beliefs and practices which go to make up historic Christianity. The Rule of Vincentius, then, is not intended to stand by itself; it is merely offered as a test by which dogmatic interpretations of Scripture should be judged. V. does not say that the Catholic Faith consists in believing what has been held 'ubique, semper et ab omnibus.' He merely says that nothing can be regarded as part of the Catholic Faith which will not come under that description.

Great stress was laid on the appeal to antiquity by the Divines of the English Church at the Reformation, and this has never ceased to be urged as a test of doctrines and rites in all conflicts with Roman Catholicism and Nonconformity. The disunion of East and

West has been generally regarded as the point at which antiquity ended, nor can one deny that the Church in her days of special energy and vigour, when she won her most signal victories over the world, has a particular claim to be heard. Moreover, in order that the Church may be able to give a full and definite expression of her opinion, a certain measure of external unity is absolutely necessary. With division comes the tendency to narrowness, corruption and error, and we cannot but believe that by disunion the Church forfeited to a certain extent the special blessing of God which rested upon her and her counsels while she preserved her unity.

At the same time it is clear that there are difficulties presented by the canon of Vincentius, even in the eyes of those who most cherish the past. In view, therefore, of the controversies which have been fought recently in some sort round his formula, a fresh examination of V.'s position and the bearing of his canon on modern Christianity cannot be deemed superfluous.

First then arises the question as to the extent and scope of the tradition which is to be used as interpretative of Scripture. Every society has its own traditions which it treasures and regards with veneration and respect, and the longer a society exists, the more numerous its traditions become. They are like a stream flowing down the ages, increasing in size as it flows, never becoming exhausted but frequently in danger of being defiled. This is to a certain extent the case with Christianity. Its traditions are undoubtedly unique. Indeed the Christian Revelation originally existed solely in the form of tradition. Our Lord wrote nothing nor caused anything to be written. He entrusted the Gospel to the free and living preaching

of His disciples with the assistance of His Spirit. By repetition the discourses of the apostles took on permanent form, and so the New Testament gradually came into being, to which, on one theory, sole appeal is to be made and to which, as V. rightly recognizes, the first importance must be assigned. It is true that much of this initial tradition was never committed to writing. That some tradition, more or less trustworthy, regarding what the apostles said, must have existed in the second century apart from the records of Scripture can hardly be doubted, and this, if it existed to-day, would certainly shed much light on a good many debated points. Clement of Alexandria, for instance, speaks of those who 'preserved the tradition of the blessed doctrine derived directly from the holy apostles Peter, John and Paul, son receiving it from father[1]'; and elsewhere he refers to the 'Gnosis which has descended by transmission to a small number, having been orally imparted by apostles[2].' We know, too, that the guarding of this tradition was enjoined upon the Churches by the Apostolic Fathers as a binding duty[3]. But it is equally certain that some Gnostic teachers, knowingly or unknowingly, fathered on apostles doctrine inconsistent with the authorised tradition of Holy Writ. And it is not improbable that some early orthodox Christians also accepted in good faith as apostolic some oral traditions which had no

[1] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I i.

[2] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI 7. This 'Gnosis' probably relates not to any fresh doctrines uncontained in Scripture but rather to fresh illustrations of doctrines there set forth and to additional evidence of their truth, obtained through those allegorical interpretations on which early Christian writers laid inordinate stress.

[3] Eus. *H. E.* III 36 'He (Ignatius) exhorted them (the Churches) to adhere firmly to the tradition of the apostles.'

claim to that title. Moreover, the anxiety of the Christian school at Alexandria to reconcile Christianity as far as possible with the philosophy of the day which was specially characterized by an esoteric teaching for the select few may have caused writers like Clement and Origen[1] unconsciously to overestimate and thus unduly to emphasize the available amount of unwritten tradition. In any case, whatever oral tradition there may have been in the days of Clement and Origen, it could scarcely have survived until now, nor, if it had survived, would it be possible to-day to distinguish the true from the false.

But it may be urged, the tradition referred to by V. is not necessarily apostolic. He appeals to tradition not as an independent source of information but merely as an interpreter of Scripture. Modest as this claim seems to be, there is still the same uncertainty about it. There is no definiteness, no fixity about unwritten tradition. No authentic declaration ever has or ever could be issued as to its extent and scope. In fact it must necessarily be of so vague and illusory a nature that the assertion first made at the Council of Trent, in 1546, that oral tradition is of equal authority with the Scriptures scarcely needs refutation now.

The first difficulty, therefore, in the way of the Vincentian canon is that it must remain abstract and formal. A strictly literal interpretation of it is clearly impossible. Where are we to find this ancient and universal doctrine? What articles of faith are marked with the triple stamp here named? Which are the documents and authentic organs of this immutable tradition? An authoritative interpretation of the Bible has never been published. Notes appended to editions

[1] Origen *contra Celsum*, I 7 and VI 6.

of the New Testament are of no recognized authority and not unfrequently vary considerably even on those passages which have a definite doctrinal bearing[1].

If then no dogmatic interpretation of any portion of the Scriptures ought to be put forward unless it can be proved that that particular interpretation is in accordance with what has always been and still is held by the Church, how can it be ascertained what views the Church holds? V. answers that the only safety lies in looking back. The Christianity of the first days is certain to be right, and in case of doubt Oecumenical Councils are the first court of appeal. But among the Councils which are Oecumenical and which are not? It is easy either to underrate or to overrate the importance of General Councils. In fairness we must admit that they played a most important part in the history of the fourth and following centuries, and that clear and distinct images of the truth were frequently formed through the expressed opinions of bishops from various parts of the Christian world. But at the same time, to be perfect, General Councils would have had to fulfil conditions which they never did fulfil. They were not really representative; they were not always free from constraint and able to express the mature and real convictions of the assembled bishops, and lastly even where they have counted for most, they are only one method whereby the mind of the Church has been ascertained, one stage in the gradual process which finally crystallizes out the truth. Moreover, General Councils have long ceased to be held. In the days of V. they were a matter of constant occurrence, and he probably wrote under the

[1] E.g. Matt. xvi 18; 1 Cor. iii 15.

impression that they would from time to time continue to be convened.

However, the difficulty that a question may arise with regard to a matter that has not been dealt with by a Council is met by V., who declares that in that case the opinions of the Fathers must be consulted. Undoubtedly the unanimous agreement of the Fathers would be to us to-day an invaluable guide in questions both of interpretation and of doctrine, but unfortunately it is not to be found. Take for instance a text relied on by Roman Catholics to establish the supremacy of Peter, and, by assumed deduction, that of the Bishop of Rome, by declaring that Peter was the rock on which Christ was to build His Church. Bellarmine asserted that the Fathers were unanimous in this interpretation. This statement drew forth the rebuke of a celebrated Roman Catholic writer, Launoy[1], who in reply shewed that sixteen Fathers and doctors interpreted the text in question as referring to Christ and not to Peter; eight held that the Church was not to be built on Peter alone, but on all the apostles equally; while only seventeen adopted the Petrine interpretation. So too we find that the greatest possible diversity of interpretation prevailed among the early Fathers with regard to other texts[2] which are recognized and used as the authority for many points of ritual or doctrine in vogue to-day.

Of course V. does not really mean that we are to look for authoritative Catholic interpretations of particular texts. In the case just referred to, for instance, his canon merely proves its utility by ruling out *any*

[1] *Launoii Opera*, tome v, p. 95, Epist. VII, lib. v, Col. Allob. 1731.

[2] E.g. James v 14.

of the above mentioned interpretations as binding upon the Catholic conscience. What it does imply is that particular texts must not be interpreted in a way that conflicts with Catholic doctrines at large. But it is the discovery of these very Catholic doctrines in antiquity that is sometimes so difficult, and even about them the Fathers are not always agreed.

Since then unanimity among the Fathers is not to be expected, are we to regard all the opinions of the Fathers as authoritative? And if not, how distinguish those which must be received from those which must be rejected? An appeal from a defective primitive teaching to a consent of modern and better instructed times V. would never allow. Errors among the Fathers, he would say, must be corrected either by the right teaching of others,—and this is the reason why he adds the clause 'quod ab omnibus,'—or else by reference to the apostolic teaching contained in the New Testament, which is, after all, the standard to which they, as well as he, appealed.

An absolute consensus among the ancients there never was and never could be, as V. himself knew well. But (and this is the real value of the Vincentian canon), though there is no *absolute* consensus of the past, an *approximate* consensus there is, and it resides in the fact of certain opinions—especially with regard to the cardinal truths of Christianity—having prevailed after the struggles and conflicts of centuries. On the articles in the creed there has been a broad consensus from the beginning, and no modernism has been able to shake, no heresy to destroy faith in the unity of substance in the Father and the Son, the Atonement, or the sacraments. Indeed the proved fitness of any opinion in the past ought to make us

hesitate long before we give it up, for although the mode in which such an opinion is expressed in one age may not and often will not suit another generation of men, yet the essential meaning will be found to have been right and true. As each great Christian idea has crystallized into a definite clear-cut dogma which has once received the consent of the Church throughout the world, it represents a flag planted, a position gained from which there can be no going back.

A second objection to the Vincentian Rule has been made[1], namely that it represents an appeal to a closed canon of tradition, whether of the first four or of the first six centuries. This, it is urged, somewhat resembles the Talmudic closure of the Jewish Tradition, and is contrary to the idea that there is in the Church to-day any power and capability to form decisions in matters of faith. The Council of Trent formulated a principle opposed to this closure in decreeing that the hierarchy is such a living authority, and the Vatican Council definitely threw over this appeal to the past for an appeal to the Pope speaking infallibly *ex cathedra Petri*. But to insist on the essentially dogmatic principle that the Church is a living body and that the Holy Ghost never ceases to speak through its collective voice is not opposed to the Vincentian Rule. That Rule only deals with ancient tradition in so far as it interprets Scripture. It merely claims that one cannot impose as *de fide* what has not had ancient and universal sanction. Besides V. himself admits a 'progressus fidei.' He was much too clear-headed and too scholarly to deny that progress or growth in religion could be made. And so he allows development but only within

[1] Cooper-Marsdin *The History of the Islands of the Lerins*, v, p. 63.

the clearly defined limits of the pregnant phrase 'profectus, non permutatio.' Progress there may be, but not change. Identity must be carefully maintained. Development must preserve the same teaching, the same sense, the same idea. And the developed truth must bear the same relation to that from which it sprang that the man does to the boy, the tree to the seed. Thus he recognizes only organic growth. Foreign innovation and new dogma he indignantly rejects.

V. is therefore in favour of development and his words describe admirably the characteristics of all sound progress. We must beware, therefore, of that narrow and literal view of the canon which regards it as antagonistic to all development, and inconsistent with the idea that there exists in the Church a diffused and daily growing illumination which enables her within certain limits to form judgments even on questions of doctrine. It must not be pressed to such an extent as to rule out the possibility of change in conceptual, terminological and devotional expression. What justification can there be for drawing an arbitrary line across the continuous stream of the Church's life, and saying 'Here, at this point, the Holy Spirit deserted His Church, and all subsequent developments are mere human corruptions'? The authority of antiquity may easily be pressed too far. Even doctrines and usages occurring before the last Oecumenical Council have to be tested by their agreement with the main principles of the teaching of Christ. They must be examined to see whether they come under the heading of the obligatory or the optional. Antiquity had its defects, its narrowness, its temporary and purely local garb, its habits of thought which are

unfitted for these days. 'The Vincentian Rule,' says Dr James Wilson[1], 'limited to the past, strangles the life and growth of the Church.' True, but it is impossible to limit the Rule to the past. It was not intended to be limited to the past. It cannot be confined to the consensus of one generation. It even looks forward to the future.

This aspect of the canon is important in its application to the present day. We have reached a stage in the world's history when old forms and old customs not only need strict and searching examination but require in many cases recasting and adapting to altered conditions. Facts remain the same in their spiritual reality, but rites and usages want sometimes more than the mere stamp of antiquity to justify their continued existence. Room must be left for real development and real growth, as V. foresaw. Christianity, while it is in the broad outline immutable, must be allowed to have within itself power to expand, develop and adapt itself to new ages and new needs. This is precisely the contention of V. himself in an eloquent passage at the close of ch. XXII. But we can perhaps go a step farther and say that we have not even yet attained to a full realization of 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' If it was in the power of the early Councils to formulate the great ideas of the Trinity and the Incarnation into finished and polished definitions and to settle such questions as the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, it will be equally in the power of the next General Council, when it meets, to draw up a technical conceptual definition on the as yet unformulated idea of the Atonement, if it should see fit to do so, or on any other part of the Catholic Faith that

[1] *Essays and Addresses*, ch. VII 'On Authority,' 1887.

may be felt to need elucidation. And until that happens, the nearest approach to the voice of a council is to be found in the voice of the Church diffusive, the consentient teaching of East and West, which is now generally regarded as the best criterion of dogmatic truth.

The third difficulty in the way of the Vincentian Rule is that it is useless in a controversy. Obviously it was not meant to be taken quite literally, for if there had been no divisions, no divergence of opinion among men even 'within the Catholic Church,' such a test would not have been required. Truths which had never been doubted needed no defence such as that which the canon was intended to supply. But even so it only serves to reassure us as to the orthodoxy of those verdicts in the controversies of past times in which we ourselves acquiesce. It is obvious, and V. himself admits, that the Rule is valueless[1] against ancient heresies, while in the case of a new controversy, both parties, as Dr Salmon points out[2], are sure to say that it is their opinion which has been held always. And they will both argue that 'held by all' does not, of course, mean absolutely and literally 'all without exception,' but leaves out of account heretics, so that 'all' means only 'all right-thinking persons,' which of course each side claims to be. As therefore some are to be excluded from the *omnes*, the difficulty is to decide whom to include and whom to exclude. Does V. mean by *omnes* the majority? It seems so, and it is doubtless a very attractive doctrine that whatever is held by the majority of Christians must be true and that

[1] Ch. XXVIII (39) Neque semper neque omnes haereses hoc modo impugnandae sunt sed nouiciae recentesque tantummodo.

[2] Salmon *Infallibility of the Church*, ed. 4, 1914, p. 270.

the few who disagree may be ignored. But was there not a time when the majority within the Catholic Church were Arians[1], when Athanasius stood alone against the world, and when even Pope Liberius was carried away by the storm of heresy which almost overwhelmed the West? And yet in V.'s day Arianism was modern. It was precisely in view of the Arian heresy that V. formulated his maxim.

If then *omnes* is subject to double limitation, what becomes of the *semper* and the *ubique*? These terms also require considerable modification before they can be applied. It is evident then that the canon can give but little help towards the settlement of a controversy while it is in progress. This difficulty is specially felt in regard to those questions on which the voice of Antiquity is silent or doubtful. The unserviceableness of the maxim in that case was pointed out by Newman in his *Essay on Development*, where he maintained that if certain articles of the Roman Creed be condemned because of the impossibility of shewing that they were part of the faith of the early Church, the same thing might be said of the teaching respecting the Trinity found in the Quicumque. 'The Rule of Vincentius,' he wrote[2], 'strikes at Rome through England. It admits of being interpreted in one of two ways; if it be narrowed for the purpose of disproving the catholicity of the creed of Pope Pius, it becomes also an objection to the Athanasian; and if it be relaxed to admit the doctrines retained by the English Church, it no longer excludes certain doctrines of Rome which that Church denies.

[1] Cp. Jerome *Dial. adu. Lucif.* XIX: Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est.

[2] Newman *Essay on Development*, p. 9.

It cannot at once condemn St Thomas and St Bernard and defend St Athanasius and St Gregory Nazianzen.' But this remark wholly ignores the appeal to Scripture from which the Rule of V. cannot be divorced. Surely it is possible to make a distinction which Dr Newman failed to make. There is a difference between dogmas which are suddenly imposed upon an astonished world, and doctrines, such as the Athanasian formulary sets forth, which are the outcome of a fuller apprehension and application of the Christian revelation. As Professor Stanton says[1]: 'we are not left to the means for distinguishing between true and false developments of Christian Faith which Newman regarded as alone practicable, namely whether or not they have obtained the approval of the occupant of the Papal Chair. There are some doctrines and practices to which the life and mind and voice of the Church at large have given a sanction that is altogether wanting to others amongst those which Newman's test would place on one and the same level.'

To the objection, then, above stated that the Rule of Vincentius is useless in a controversy, the answer may be given that though it can give little or no guidance while the controversy is going on, yet it enables us to hold with more confidence those doctrines which have by general consent prevailed; it enables us to believe that, with regard to the controversies of former days, the winning side was right and that whatever has settled down to be the general belief is probably true, whether it be a matter of interpretation or of faith. In some respects we hold that consent as to the principles of Christian life and faith has been

[1] V. H. Stanton *Place of Authority in Religious Belief*, Longmans, 1891.

so universal and has prevailed among people of such varied localities and such different modes of thought, and that the whole matter has been so completely investigated through controversy, and the final judgment upon it has been so definite, so decisive, that it would be presumptuous folly in us to pass it by as of no personal application to ourselves. The recognition of the Church's ministerial authority to frame her own laws is a dictate of common sense, and it is a dictate of modesty also to treat with respect the doctrinal statements which she has fashioned for herself out of the revelation which she has received.

But it is to be noticed that V., after elaborately stating the case for tradition, partially gives up his position. The appeal, he says, is first from the Scriptures to tradition. When, however, there are heresies widely spread and deeply rooted and the error cannot be disposed of by the unanimity of the teachers, then the appeal is to be carried back again to the Scriptures. This is somewhat in the nature of arguing in a circle, and tradition is after all seen to be wanting as a safe guide, even when regarded merely as illustrative and interpretative of Scripture. Even orthodox Fathers not unfrequently misunderstood the real meaning of passages of Scripture, and therefore traditional interpretations of texts must not be blindly accepted by us for no other reason than that they come down to us from antiquity, until those interpretations have been tested in the light of modern knowledge, not only in respect of their harmony with the general tenour of Scripture, but particularly in respect of their agreement with the context and with the purpose and meaning of the writer of the book. What we look for, however, in tradition as an accessory to Scripture is doctrine,

and not the critical interpretation of a text. When the Fathers expounded a passage of Scripture in a certain way in order to support some point of doctrine, even if their criticism and interpretation of the text in question are erroneous, yet they are an excellent index to the dogmatic views of the time. They frequently give us definite information as to the doctrine which the Fathers had received from those before them.

Tradition, therefore, is valuable to us to-day in so far as it gives indisputable evidence as to what the early Church held as *de fide*. And this really is the position of V. His first and last appeal is to the Bible because it is in his eyes the oldest and the standard tradition. He only upholds tradition outside Scripture in so far as it can shed light on ancient dogmatic belief. His contention is that the opinions held by the Fathers in matters of doctrine, especially where they were comparatively unanimous, are less likely to have been contaminated by innovation than views prevailing after many centuries of diverse opinion, and are more likely to be right—more likely to accord with the spirit of the age in which the apostles lived. The very fact that the appeal is to be transferred back to the Scripture when external tradition fails, proves that in the eyes of V. tradition supplementary of the Bible is *not indispensable*. He only appeals to it at all because the heretic appeals to and perverts the New Testament writings. His argument in brief is this: when early patristic tradition can aid in the correct dogmatic interpretation of Scripture, let it do so, but where it cannot, Scripture must suffice by itself and be its own interpreter.

But in that case, it may be argued, the individual after all becomes the ultimate judge. The right of

private judgment has for long been a matter of debate and it is treated by some as if it were opposed to the authority of the Church. But in all matters of belief we must, to begin with at least, depend largely upon our own judgment and we can never reach any higher assurance in any of them than that which our judgment is able to supply. The Roman Catholic, who maintains the infallibility of the Pope, must have applied his private judgment some time or other to the question whether the Pope is or is not fallible, and so with all men the matter resolves itself into the choice whether they are to use their own judgment in many matters or in one. They must either apply their private judgment to the question whether the Church of Rome is infallible, and if they decide in the affirmative, they must believe implicitly all that it declares, or they must apply their private judgment separately to the different questions in controversy, testing them by the light of the Vincentian Rule, and come to their own conclusions on each. As the individual is called upon in almost every act of life to exercise his free-will and choose between good and evil, so in questions of faith he is bound to use his private judgment and decide for himself in great measure what is true and what is false, what must be rejected and what must be received. At the same time, this concession does not excuse rash judgment, it does not warrant independence of the teaching of others, nor does it exclude deference to the authority of those persons who are better informed, better able to judge correctly than ourselves, or the use of any of the means which wise men employ in order to guide their own judgment aright. There is a vast difference between the mental attitude of one who relies entirely on his own judgment and on his own

power to interpret Scripture, and of one who in addition avails himself of the teaching and usages of the Church as a guide to help him in forming that judgment. In many respects the individual is and must be the ultimate judge. He must test customs by their agreement or non-agreement with the spirit of Christianity. Each person must think and judge for himself, but he must do so with the realization that he is but one member of an immense society. He must think as one whose own weak and imperfect thoughts need controlling by the truer abler thoughts of the mind of the Universal Church.

There is no doubt, then, on the whole that V. began on the right lines the formulation of a principle of authority. The general consensus of the whole body of Christians must be the basis of any attempt to form a canon of orthodoxy. It has been shewn that the Rule may be pressed till it becomes forced and unreal; it may be narrowed down so that it serves as a lantern which sheds light only on the path already traversed and none at all on the path in front, or it may be taken so literally as to exclude much that is indubitably true. But as a principle not confined to the consensus of one generation but extending forwards into the future as well as backwards into the past, V. has afforded mankind a useful and valuable guide to true faith. If we remember that revelation is continuous, proceeding side by side with knowledge, and admit that, though the deposit of the faith once for all delivered to the saints is immutable, yet it is the duty of each succeeding generation to understand, recast and restate the facts which have been presented for its acceptance, not imposing upon itself forms, expressions, or formulae, which are unsuited to its particular

mode of speech or thought, but adapting them to its own needs, then we shall find that the Vincentian Rule contains an eternal truth which no age of Christian thought should dare to reject.

CHAPTER IV

ON THE LATINITY AND STYLE OF THE COMMONITORIUM

The style of V. is remarkably good, far surpassing that of other Gallic writers of the fifth century. This was noticed by Gennadius of Massilia (A.D. 495) who was so impressed by the vividness and elegance of diction displayed in this work that he makes a special comment on it in his *De inlustribus ecclesiae scriptoribus* (ch. LXIV), declaring it to be written in very polished and lucid language (nitido satis et aperto sermone). In his preface V. says that he is going to write in an easy and familiar style without ornamentation or refinement, leaving elegant and accurate composition to others, and then he composes a treatise in excellent Latin which compares not unfavourably with the writings of the golden classical period. The arrangement of his matter is skilful and well thought out; the development from beginning to end is logical, and the language, though not always easy to translate, is clear and flowing. 'We love,' says the Abbé Goux, 'the neatness of the plan, the easy chain of ideas, the orderly arrangement of proofs, and the purity of expression' (*Lérins au cinquième siècle*, p. iii). This is precisely what many of the writers of early Latin Christianity did. They begin by sounding their high

disdain of vain literary technique and then proceed to imitate the best classical models, and write in a style very far removed from the ordinary colloquial language of the day.

But good though the work of V. is, it is not without signs (such, for example, as the frequent use of diminutives, e.g. portiuncula, particula, quaestiuncula, etc., and of post-Augustan words) that it belongs to a late period.

(i) His formulae and transitions are so often repeated as to become fatiguingly monotonous; e.g. hic forsitan requirat aliquis; sed dicet aliquis[1]; and his imaginary objections occur with wearying frequency[2].

(ii) His syntax is not always correct according to Augustan models:

(*a*) Sequence of tenses is sometimes violated[3].

(*b*) Deponent participles are used passively[4]. This, however, is not unfrequent even in classical authors.

(*c*) Fuerant and fuissent are put for erant and essent in compound pluperfects[5]. This, however, is often found in Livy and late Latin writers.

(*d*) Quod and quia with the subj. (once even with indic.) are used for the accus. and infin.[6]

[1] II (2) p. 7 l. 12; X (15) p. 37 l. 1; XI (16) p. 40 l. 1; XII (16) p. 45 l. 1; XXIII (28) p. 88 l. 9; etc.

[2] V (7) p. 18 l. 8; VI (10) p. 26 l. 1; VIII (13) p. 33 l. 3; IX (13) p. 34 l. 1; XVII (23) p. 69 ll. 8, 11; etc.

[3] XIII (18) p. 50 l. 14; XIV (20) p. 57 l. 6; XXI (26) p. 83 l. 5.

[4] IV (5) p. 14 l. 8; XI (16) p. 40 l. 10; XXV (37) p. 107 l. 1; XXVI (37) p. 109 l. 6; XXVIII (40) p. 119 l. 1.

[5] VII (12) p. 29 l. 14; IX (14) p. 34 l. 13; XXIX (42) p. 123 l. 9.

[6] II (1) p. 7 l. 6; XII (16) p. 45 l. 7; XIV (20) p. 55 ll. 9, 10; XVII (23) p. 66 l. 3; p. 67 l. 4; XVIII (24) p. 77 l. 7; XIX p. 78 l. 9; XXVI (37) p. 107 l. 8; p. 109 l. 10; XXXII (43) p. 133 l. 5.

(*e*) Non dubium est and non dubito are followed by the accus. and infin. instead of quin with the subjunctive[1].

(*f*) The reflexive pronoun is substituted for the demonstrative[2] and the personal pronoun for the possessive[3].

(*g*) The accus. is found after verbs taking the dative case in classical Latin[4].

(iii) V. frequently uses abstract words and impersonal subjects (e.g. capacitas mentis, tenacitas fidei) where a classical writer would use a personal or concrete construction[5].

(iv) Particles are used by him with a non-classical meaning or construction (e.g. antequam = quamdiu[6], necdum = nondum[7], quippe qui takes the indic.[8], dum = quia (causal)[9], forsitan in imaginary objections takes the indicative[10].

(v) He inserts a pleonastic ille after quis, quiuis and quicumque[11], and

(vi) He makes use of several archaisms[12].

[1] VI (11) p. 27 l. 7; XXIII (29) p. 90 l. 2; XXVI (37) p. 108 l. 9; XXX (42) p. 127 l. 5.

[2] X (15) p. 37 l. 12; p. 38 l. 3; XI (16) p. 40 l. 8; XVII (23) p. 69 l. 12; p. 74 l. 2; XXXII (43) p. 131 l. 1.

[3] II (2) p. 8 l. 4; VII (11) p. 28 l. 3; XIV (20) p. 59 l. 6; XVIII (24) p. 75 l. 13; XXVIII (39) p. 114 l. 11.

[4] XI (16) p. 42 l. 5; XVIII (24) p. 75 l. 13; XXII (27) p. 88 l. 6.

[5] VIII (12) p. 32 l. 5; XVIII (24) p. 75 l. 7.

[6] XXVIII (39) p. 113 l. 8.

[7] XII (17) p. 49 l. 10.

[8] I p. 5 l. 2; XXIV (34) p. 100 l. 6.

[9] IV (6) p. 18 l. 1; X (15) p. 39 l. 11; XVII (23) p. 72 l. 11.

[10] V (7) p. 18 l. 8; VIII (13) p. 33 l. 3; IX (13) p. 34 l. 1; XXIII (28) p. 88 l. 9.

[11] V (7) p. 20 l. 2; VIII (12) p. 32 l. 13; XVII (23) p. 68 l. 1; XXVI (37) p. 110 l. 4.

[12] XXIII (29) p. 90 l. 6 (praeliciare) etc.

But in spite of these irregularities, the Commonitorium is a tasteful, vigorous, literary composition, written with care and refinement, and may well pass for a specimen of the best Latinity of the fifth century.

The reasoning of V. is close and sound, he is felicitous in his choice of words, his allusions are always apt and he makes his points in a telling and conclusive manner. It is noteworthy, also, that the writer in attacking heretics never indulges in unseemly abuse; his comparisons and metaphors are not only well-chosen but always shew the best of taste even judged by a modern standard. Only in one instance has exception been taken to his choice of illustration and that is in the adoption of the somewhat repulsive phrase 'manna reuomentes' (p. 31 l. 11) carrying on the idea of 'nausea ueritatis adfecti.'

In connexion with the literary style of V. the following points may be observed:

(1) The author of the treatise is visibly familiar with the classical writers. In ch. IV (6) p. 15 l. 11 we see a reminiscence of Sallust's *Iugurtha* X, viz. 'Non solum paruae res sed etiam maximae labefactatae sunt.' In ch. XVII (23) p. 72 l. 6 there is an adaptation of a sentiment found in Cicero *Tusc. Quaest.* I 17 (39), viz. 'se cum Origene errare malle quam cum aliis uera sentire'; and in ch. XXV (35) p. 104 l. 2 we find a distinct reference to Lucretius *De Rerum Nat.* I 936 'prius oras melle circumlinunt ut incauta aetas amaritudinem non reformidet,' while many Lucretian words and constructions imply acquaintance with that author. This latter fact is particularly interesting and important, especially in view of the notorious familiarity with Lucretius shewn by Arnobius.

(2) There is considerable evidence that V. had at some period of his life had an oratorical training. His knowledge of the rules of rhetoric is seen in the constant antitheses of words, phrases and ideas, and the use of figures of speech adopted by rhetoricians, such as chiasmus, rhetorical question, emphatic repetition and asyndeton; e.g.

III (4) pestifero...membro, sanitatem...corporis.

IV (5) paucorum uesaniae, uniuersorum sanitas.

V (7) non litteras sed lituras.

XI (16) admirarentur eloquentiam, temptationem non ignorarunt.

XV (21) catholicissime credatur, impiissime denegetur.

XXII (27) non auctor debes esse sed custos, non institutor sed sectator, non ducens sed sequens, etc.

XXXIII (43) detestentur, horrescant, insectentur, persequantur.

He knows, too, the value of a climax which can often be observed in the threefold synonyms which he uses so frequently; e.g.

III (4) tenuisse, scripsisse, docuisse.

IV (6) nuditate, fame, siti, adfecti, contriti, tabefacti.

VI (10) abolita, antiquata, calcata sunt.

VIII (13) separatus, segregatus, exclusus.

XXIII (30) excurentur, limentur, poliantur.

XXIV (33) ignorasse, errasse, blasphemasse.

XXVIII (38) fideliter, sobrie, sollicite.

XXVIII (39) accipiendo, tenendo, tradendo.

Occasionally, but not often, V. makes use of a colloquial expression or a proverb, as for example in ch. I (2) p. 8 l. 6 'quot homines tot sententiae,' which is found in Terence *Phormio*, II 4. 14 and in Cicero

Fin. I 5. 5, and in speaking of Tertullian he uses the popular phrase 'facile princeps' (p. 75 l. 2). In short, the author well understands all the arts and devices required in writing for effect. The best instance of this is seen in the fine burst of eloquence at the end of ch. XXII which he concludes with the notable phrase: 'eadem tamen quae didicisti doce, ut cum dicas noue non dicas noua.'

(3) The treatise gives evidence of such lively imagination that the author has been described as a 'poet theologian[1].' Whether this epithet is appropriate or not[2], there is no doubt that several passages in the Commonitorium stand out conspicuously, shewing that the writer possessed descriptive powers of no ordinary kind. His imagery is frequently most picturesque and certainly borders on the poetical. Thus he speaks of the calm harbour of religion guarded by the strong breakwater of the Christian Faith, within which the soul is at peace while without are raging winds and rough waves, XX (25), and he compares the development of religious thought to the growth of plant-life, and the growth of the human frame, changing and yet the same, XXIII (29). These and similar passages are worthy to adorn an orator's commonplace book. In short, not only on the grounds of its contents but also for its Latinity and style the Commonitorium of V. deserves the title 'aureum opus' which was conferred upon it more than once during the seventeenth century.

[1] A. E. Burn 'The Athanasian Creed' (*Texts and Studies*, vol. IV, no. 1, Camb. 1896).

[2] Jülicher characterizes this epithet as 'wenig genug glücklich' (Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*, art. Vincentius).

CHAPTER V

BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS

There are numerous quotations from the Bible in the Commonitorium, and it is a matter of importance to consider from what source these were derived. The history of the pre-Hieronymian Latin texts is not yet satisfactorily cleared up, and even with regard to the Vulgate the date of the translation of many of the books, the sphere of their influence at so early a date as A.D. 434, and even the actual authorship of the Vg. translation of most of the New Testament, are questions wrapped in obscurity. Moreover the reception of the new Latin translation of the Scriptures was very uneven. Some churches clung more than others to the old versions, and sometimes the Vg. was adopted in one part of the Bible while the Old Latin was retained in another. Before the Vg. was adopted, much inconvenience was suffered by the Western Church owing to the absence of an authorized edition of the Old Latin version of the Scriptures. 'Tot exemplaria paene quot codices' was Jerome's description of the state of things in his day, and Augustine speaks of an 'infinita uarietas Latinorum interpretum.' And the confusion caused by the great number of independent translations was rendered still worse by the carelessness of scribes. At present the most that can be done with regard to the pre-Hieronymian texts of the Latin Scriptures is to classify them roughly according to the district in which they were used.

Now V. belongs to a definite time and place: it is therefore of considerable interest to find out what text of the Scriptures he actually used and to reconstruct as far as possible the Latin Bible used in the monastery of Lerinum in 434.

First then with respect to the Old Testament:

The date of the publication of Jerome's translation of the Pentateuch lay between the years 401 and 405. By 402 Genesis was certainly published, because Jerome quotes the preface to it in his *Apology against Rufinus* (II 25), which cannot be later than that date. And though the other four books were not quite finished when he wrote this preface, yet they were certainly published before 405, which is the date of the appearance of Joshua, Judges and Ruth (see Jerome's *Praefatio in Iosue*). Now V.'s quotation (*Common.* X (15) p. 38) from Deut. xiii 1–3 is clearly taken from the new Vg., which was barely thirty years old at the time when V. wrote. In this passage, *in medio tui*, signum *atque portentum, ignoras, palam fiat*, diligatis *an non*—all these are definitely Vg. renderings. That V.'s opening quotation of Deut. xxxii 7 is from an Old Latin version translated from the Septuagint and is not from the Vg. proves nothing, for the 'Song of Moses' is a Church Canticle. The case exactly corresponds to an Anglican writer quoting a Psalm from the Prayer Book Version. It is to be noticed also that in referring to the plague of flies, Ex. viii 21 (*Common.* IX (14) p. 36), V. uses 'muscae' from the Vg. and not 'cynomyia' which is the rendering of the Old Latin versions. Also in the same passage the correct reading of the word for lice in the Commonitorium is 'scinifes' which is the Vg. rendering and not 'cyniphes' which is the word found in the Old Latin versions. These quotations are

sufficient to prove that for the Pentateuch V. used the new Vg. version of the Scriptures made by Jerome.

With regard to the Psalms, Jerome's translation from the Hebrew never became popular, excellent though it was. The hold on the public mind of the more familiar version was too strong to be loosened, and it is the so-called Gallican Psalter which appears in an ordinary Vg. Bible. Indeed three types of Latin Psalters can be clearly distinguished:

(1) The ancient text ('African') used by Cyprian which survives only in his quotations and to a certain extent in Augustine.

(2) Jerome's new translation from the Hebrew.

(3) *All* the other Psalters current in the fourth and later centuries, including the so-called 'Vetus,' the so-called 'Roman,' the so-called 'Gallican,' and all the Psalters published by Sabatier and Bianchini. The members of (3) differ in detail among themselves, but as compared with (1) and (2) they agree. The Psalter of V. appears to be simply an individual example of (3) such as are the Coislin, Corbie and Mozarabic Psalters, with which three manuscripts V. agrees in one particular text: Ps. xlv (xlvi) 11 'Vacate et uidete quoniam ego sum dominus' (p. 4 l. 3).

To pass on to Proverbs from which V. quotes a good deal (see *Common.* XXI (26) pp. 85, 86) there is no instance where he agrees with the Vg. His text throughout is the Old Latin translated directly from the Septuagint. What Old Latin version his was is not easy to state. All that can be said is that his text differs considerably from that used by Ambrose (as quoted by Sabatier[1]) and is in some points nearer to that found in some of Augustine's works.

[1] P. Sabatier *Antiquae Versiones Latinae.*

In Ecclesiastes a clue to the text used by V. is seen in his quotation of ch. x 8 'scindentem sepem mordebit eum serpens' (*Common.* XXI (26) p. 83 l. 8) where the Vg. has 'qui *dissipat* sepem mordebit eum *coluber*.' Here scindentem and serpens are definitely Old Latin readings.

Secondly with reference to the New Testament:

We find in *Common.* XXV (36) p. 104 the following variants from the Vg. text of Matt. vii 15:

Commonitorium	*O.L.* MSS *agreeing with Comm.*	*Vulgate*
adtendite uobis, so	DP^{mg} LR*hbc*	adtendite (omits uobis)
pseudoprophetis	*h*(*k*) Hil Aug	falsis prophetis
uestitu	*habcf*	uestimentis
ab intus	*ha*(*b*)*cg*	intrinsecus

Again in Matt. iv 5, 6 (*Common.* XXVI (37) p. 107) we see:

pinnam	*cgh*	pinnaculum
mandauit	*h*	mandabit
tollant	*he*	tollent

The deduction from this seems fairly clear: *h* (Matt.) is Codex Claromontanus (6th cent.), said to have come from Lyons, and certainly representing a 'South-Gallican' text. It is just the kind of Old Latin that we might have expected to find in use at Lerins. In no case does V. quote from or shew any knowledge of the Vg. Gospels. With regard to the Epistles, there is considerable uncertainty as to the place of production and authorship of the Vg. translation, but it is certainly older than 427 for we find it used in Augustine's (genuine) *Speculum.* It had already passed into use in the monastery of Lerins by 434, for it is undoubtedly the new Vg., and not the Old Latin version of the Epistles, which V. used. That his text of the

Pauline Epistles was the Vg. the following quotations prove:

Commonitorium and Vulgate	*Old Latin (d, e)*
Rom. xvi 17 ut obseruetis	diligenter obseruate
1 Cor. i 10 schismata	scissurae
,, iii 9 Dei agricultura	Dei cultura
,, xii 28 tertio doctores	tertio magistros
,, xiv 36 uerbum Dei	sermo Dei
,, ,, in uos solos	in uobis solis
,, xiv 37 sunt mandata	sunt (omits mandata)
,, xiv 38 ignorabitur	ignoratur
II Cor. xi 14 et non mirum	nec mirandum
Gal. v 16 desiderium	concupiscentiam
1 Tim. vi 4 superbus...languens	inflatus...aegrotat
,, ,, pugnas...priuati	rixas...destitutorum
Heb. x 27 terribilis quaedam expectatio iudicii	horribilis quidam (? quaedam) execratio iudicii

It should be noted, however, that in chs. xv and xxvi (p. 61 l. 2 and p. 108 l. 3) the phrase *dominus maiestatis* for the Vg. *dominus gloriae*, in a reference to 1 Cor. ii 8, is definitely Old Latin (so *d* Ambst. Leo etc.). V. presumably was here quoting not from his Bible but from a commonplace book or from memory.

Moreover the reference in ch. xxiv (33) p. 96 l. 6 to II John 10, 11 is important as shewing that V.'s text of the Catholic Epistles was also Vg., where *uenit, recipere, nec* aue ei *dixeritis*, dicit *illi*, are undoubtedly Vg. readings.

Thus we have for V.'s Bible:

(i) Pentateuch = Vg.
(ii) Psalms and Canticles = Old Lat. (LXX)
(iii) Proverbs etc. = Old Lat. (LXX)
(iv) Historical Books non liquet
(v) Prophets non liquet
(vi) Gospels = Old Lat. (*h*)
(vii) Acts of the Apostles non liquet

(viii) Epistles (Pauline) = Vg.
(ix) Ep. to Heb. = Vg.
(x) Epistles (Catholic) = Vg.
(xi) Apocalypse non liquet (but probably Vg.)

It seems highly probable that the monastery of Lerins was the main influence in spreading Jerome's text and teaching in Gaul.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE COMMONITORIUM TO THE SYMBOLUM QUICUMQUE COMMONLY CALLED THE CREED OF ST ATHANASIUS

There is a marked resemblance both in substance and in form of expression between certain sections of the Commonitorium and the so-called Athanasian Creed. This is seen at once by a comparison of the following tables:

Commonitorium	*Quicumque Vult*
1. Ecclesia uero Catholica... unam diuinitatem in trinitatis plenitudine et trinitatis aequalitatem in una atque eadem maiestate ueneratur. XIII (18).	Fides autem Catholica haec est ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate ueneremur.
2. Vnum Christum Iesum non duos eundemque Deum pariter atque hominem confitetur. XIII (18).	Est ergo recta Fides ut credamus et confiteamur quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus Dei filius Deus pariter et homo est.
3. In Deo una substantia sed tres personae...quia scilicet alia est persona patris, alia filii alia spiritus sancti. XIII (19).	Neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes. Alia est enim persona patris, alia filii, alia spiritus sancti.

Commonitorium	*Quicumque Vult*
4. Vnus idemque Christus Deus et homo...idem ex patre ante saecula genitus, idem in saeculo ex matre generatus; perfectus Deus, perfectus homo. XIII (19).	Deus ex substantia patris, ante saecula genitus, homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus; perfectus Deus, perfectus homo.
5. Vnus idemque Christus Deus et homo, idem patri et aequalis et minor. XIII (19).	Aequalis patri secundum diuinitatem, minor patre secundum humanitatem.
6. Plena...humanitas quippe quae animam simul habeat et carnem...animam mente ac ratione pollentem. XIII (19).	Ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens.
7. Vnus non corruptibili nescio qua diuinitatis et humanitatis confusione sed integra et singulari quadam unitate personae. XIII (19).	Vnus omnino non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae.
8. Absque ulla sui conuersione ...factus est homo. XIV (20).	Non conuersione diuinitatis in carne,
9. Adsumendo et habendo carnem. XIV (20).	sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deo.

These identities of expression are too close to be purely accidental. Four ways of accounting for them are conceivable:

(1) The teaching respecting the Trinity and the Incarnation became so well known and stereotyped that some phrases relating to it were in general currency and found their way independently both into the Commonitorium and the 'Quicumque.'

(2) V. was himself the composer of the 'Quicumque.'

(3) The 'Quicumque' was extant before the composition of the Commonitorium, and V. used in his treatise phrases and formulae taken from that document.

(4) The author of the 'Quicumque' was well acquainted with the Commonitorium of V. and adopted some of his expressions.

The 'Quicumque' cannot be earlier than the end of the fourth century, but with regard to the actual date of its composition there is, in spite of some excellent work done recently on the subject, a wide divergence of opinion. It has been ascribed by some to as late a date as 870[1], by others to the fifth century[2], and by a recent writer to Ambrose of Milan[3]. Even if it could be satisfactorily maintained that the 'Quicumque' as it exists to-day were a ninth century production, it would have to be admitted that it is made up of documents[4] of a much earlier date, so that the problem would in that case merely become the relation of the Commonitorium to the earlier of its component parts.

Upon one fact, however, most authorities are now agreed, and that is that the 'Quicumque' is of Gallic origin. Nearly all the suggested authors are connected with Gaul. It was first received in the Gallican Church; Gallican Councils and bishops always held it in the highest estimation; it was included in the Psalter by those churches that obtained their Psalter from Gaul; the oldest copy we hear of is the Gallican copy of Hincmar; the first writers that mention it are Gallican; the oldest commentator on it, Venantius Fortunatus,

[1] Lumby *History of the Creeds*, 1873; Swainson *History of the Creeds*, 1875.

[2] Antelmi, 1693; Waterland, 1724; Ommanney, 1896; Burn, 1899.

[3] Brewer *Das Pseudo-Athanasianische Glaubensbekenntnis*, Paderborn, 1909.

[4] Harnack (*Dogmengeschichte*, II, p. 299) in a slightly modified form supports the two-portion theory.

A.D. 570, was bishop of Poitiers; MS copies were more numerous in Gaul and of greater age than anywhere else.

With regard, then, to the four theories above mentioned the following observations may be made:

(1) Though it may reasonably be admitted that many of the dogmatic expressions and formulae of the so-called Creed were in existence before they were drawn together into their present shape, and were the outcome of the process of theological definition resulting from the study of works dealing with Arianism and other heresies, yet this is not sufficient to explain the remarkable verbal similarities which are to be found in the two works. It is true that some of the above parallels might even be found in the writings of other fifth and sixth century theologians, but Nos. 4, 7 and 8 in particular are too significant to allow this theory to be accepted as a satisfactory solution of the problem.

(2) As early as 1693 Antelmi suggested that V. himself was the author of the 'Quicumque' and that in that document we have the fulfilment of the promise made at the close of ch. XVI (22) of the Commonitorium. In 1896 Ommanney wrote his treatise in favour of the same authorship, and Swainson has admitted the claims of V. to consideration. But in spite of the knowledge and ability of these scholars, the Vincentian authorship has not many advocates to-day. If V. with his strong anti-Nestorian tendency had composed the 'Quicumque,' he would surely have inserted the crucial test-word 'theotocus' or at least have referred to the (supposed) Nestorian duad of sons. There is, moreover, a great difference in style between the 'Quicumque' and the Commonitorium. Quite unlike the rhetorical language of V. are the terse,

clearly-cut sentences of the 'Quicumque.' Furthermore, the promise to expound on some other occasion the subject of the Trinity can by no means refer to the 'Quicumque,' for the words of V. point to a fuller and more explicit treatment of the matter than we have in the Commonitorium, whereas in the 'Quicumque,' though the subjects are the same, the treatment of them is much briefer and more concise. The excursus on the doctrine of the Trinity in the Commonitorium is three times as long as the whole symbolum.

(3) The supposition that the 'Quicumque' either as a whole or in part was extant before the composition of the Commonitorium and that V. used in his treatise phrases and formulae taken from that symbolum has found favour with one or two scholars recently. But the theory of H. Brewer[1], who attributes it to Ambrose, is even less convincing than that of A. E. Burn[2], who suggests Honoratus first abbot of Lerins (425–430) as the author, maintaining that it was directed chiefly against the loose pietism of the Priscillianists. One objection to all arguments for the priority of the 'Quicumque' to the Commonitorium is that they imply that V. quoted freely from another document without any acknowledgment or a word of reference to the source from whence he draws. There is not the slightest hint in the excursus that his exposition of the Trinity and the Incarnation is not his own. Indeed many times he implies that he is led to unfold the

[1] Brewer fixes the date of the composition of the 'Quicumque' between 382 and 383, and says that belief in the Trinity as a condition of salvation is not found in the works of Ambrose before 383, but frequently occurs after 384.

[2] Burn, 'The Athanasian Creed,' *Texts and Studies*, vol. IV, no. 1, Camb. 1896.

doctrine as he goes on for the sake of additional clearness. And the passages in question do not look like quotations. They are embodied in the work and bear very strongly the impress of V.'s own style and composition.

It seems, however, on every ground highly probable that the 'Quicumque' did emanate from the cloisters of Lerins, and to Dr Burn belongs the credit of having 'traced it to the island home which sent forth into the world so noble a band of confessors and martyrs.' Even Dom Morin, who inclines to the view that the 'Quicumque' may be the lost *Regula fidei* of Martin of Braga in Spain, a sixth century Archbishop who, according to Isidore (*De uiris inlustr.* xxxv), originally came from the East, is still able to say: 'it will always be true that the author manifestly belongs to the theological circle of Lerins; it is in the bosom of this famous monastery that the future "Quicumque" was chiefly elaborated[1].'

(4) There remains, then, the supposition that the author of the 'Quicumque' was well acquainted with the Commonitorium and adopted some of its expressions. We may reasonably conjecture that the subject of the Trinity and the Incarnation was a constant topic of discussion among the monks of Lerins. The works of Faustus and Eucherius contain many parallels with the 'Quicumque,' and V. found himself so much interested in the subject that not only does his zeal lead him to give a larger space in his treatise to this doctrine than he had intended, but it causes him to leave it with reluctance and only with a promise, made more to himself than to others, to continue the subject at greater length another time; and we may suppose

[1] *Journal of Theol. Studies*, April 1911, p. 358.

that in many cases he was merely unconsciously repeating expressions which, through constant repetition, had become, as it were, the joint possession of the monks of his monastery. But it is to a later monk of Lerins that all things now seem to point as the author of the 'Quicumque,' namely Caesarius[1], who became bishop of Arles. The first quotation at any length from it is made by him. The coincidences in language prove that Caesarius was steeped in the phraseology of that symbolum. In every sermon of his now extant, and they are many, there is some echo of it. Caesarius lays constant stress on coupling *works* with *faith*, a combination found in no creed but the 'Quicumque,' and the rhythm of the whole symbolum as well as its terseness, so unlike the style of V., characterizes also the writings of Caesarius. The remarkable similarity of style between the 'Quicumque' and Caesarius was observed by Dr Burn, who says: 'the "Quicumque" reproduces in small compass but with sufficient exactness the literary qualities and defects of the bishop of Arles[2].'

Caesarius was born about twenty years after V. died, and he entered the monastery of Lerins soon after 490. The memory of the great men who had lived there became the inspiration of his life and to read their works his daily delight. 'Happy island of Lerins' he called it. There he found the Commonitorium in the same incomplete form in which we possess it to-day—doubtless prized by the monks as

[1] Morin in *Revue Bénédictine*, Oct. 1901; Cooper-Marsdin *Caesarius Bp of Arles claimed as author of the Athanasian Creed*, Rochester, 1903.

[2] *The Guardian*, Nov. 13, 1901. Dr Burn has also drawn attention to a letter of Caesarius to some monks 'on humility,' which is couched throughout in similar rhythm.

one of the literary treasures of the monastery. There he found the doctrine of the Trinity still the subject of constant discussion as it had been in V.'s day, but having doubtless reached a little more finality in expression, partly through lapse of time and the exhaustive treatment it had received in the cloister. All was ready for one to come and give it permanent form and commit it to writing, when Caesarius arrived upon the scene. Though there can be little finality in ascribing the symbolum to any individual, we can at least say that the claims of Caesarius of Arles to be regarded as its author are as great as those of any other. But whether it was Caesarius or not that drew up the 'Quicumque' in its final documentary form, there seems no doubt whatever that it is the ultimate expression of the developed views of the monastery of Lerins on the subject of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and that in the Commonitorium of Vincentius we have an earlier glimpse of the thought at work and of some of the phrases used which eventually became embodied in the Athanasianum.

CHAPTER VII

HISTORY OF THE TEXT

I. *List of the most important Editions.*

1. The earliest printed edition of the Commonitorium appeared in 1528. It was issued like so many other *editiones principes* at Basle, in folio, from the press of Henricus Petrus, and was included in a volume entitled 'Antidotum contra diuersas omnium fere seculorum haereses' and extended from page 202[a] to

page 214a. This was edited by Johannes Sichardus with a prefatory letter but without notes and without mention of the manuscript on which the text was based. That manuscript[1], which seems to have been very faulty, is now lost, and in its absence the *editio princeps*, although some of its readings are obviously emendations, must be taken as the sole evidence of what it contained.

2. The next edition was brought out in 1552 in quarto at Louvain, printed by Antonius Maria Bergagne. It was edited by Johannes Costerius, Canon of St Martin's, but neither his text nor his commentary possesses any critical value. On the title-page it is claimed that the text was one freed from many errors by a comparison of several manuscripts (ex collatione diuersorum exemplarium a multis mendis diligenter repurgatus), but there is nothing to indicate what manuscripts were used. This edition contains many marginal conjectures, a few of which have been justified by the readings of manuscripts since discovered. In spite, however, of many readings which have no support in existing manuscripts, Costerius' edition has enjoyed much popularity in the past and has had considerable influence in the formation of subsequent texts.

3. The third noteworthy edition of the Commonitorium produced in the sixteenth century was that of Petrus Pithoeus in a volume entitled: 'Veterum aliquot Galliae theologorum scripta.' It was printed in Paris in 1586 in quarto by Sebastian Niveau. This edition is founded on a collation of one manuscript known as the Codex Colbertinus, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and is void of critical importance.

[1] This MS was probably of Lorsch near Darmstadt (see P. Lehmann *Johannes Sichardus*, Munich, 1912, pp. 59, 156–7).

4. A step in advance of this was made in 1611 when Bartholomew Petrus published at Duacum (Douai) an edition of the Commonitorium in 16mo from the press of Marcus Wyon, based on the readings of two manuscripts. Both these MSS were afterwards collated by Stephen Baluze and are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The edition of Petrus was also consulted by Baluze but its value does not seem to have been great.

5. We now come to that which is generally regarded as the standard edition of Vincentius. I refer to that of Stephanus Baluzius, printed in octavo by Franciscus Miguet in Paris. The text of the Commonitorium was issued by him three times in a volume bearing the title: 'S. presbyterorum Saluiani Massiliensis et Vincentii Lirinensis opera.' His first edition (1663) was based on the text of former editors and contained a list of variant readings. His second edition (1669) contained new readings introduced on fresh manuscript authority. In the third edition, however (1684), he formed a fresh text, founded altogether on the readings of four manuscripts which are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The text of this last edition has been reproduced by most subsequent editors with scarcely any alteration, notably by Gallandi (*Bibl. Vet. Patrum*, X, Venice, 1774), Klüpfel (*Common. S. Vinc. Ler.*, Vienna, 1809), Herzog (Breslau, 1839), Migne (*Patrol. Lat.* L, 1846), Hurter (*SS. Patr. opusc. sel.* Tome IX), and Poirel (*Vinc. Peregrini seu alio nomine Marii Mercatoris Lerin. Common. duo*, Nancy, 1898).

6. A departure from this servility to the text of Baluze was made in 1895 by A. Jülicher (in Krüger's *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengesch. Quellenschriften*, Heft X, Leipzig) who bases his text on the

editio princeps, adopting variants, as he himself expresses it, wherever later editors seem to him to give with good ground a better reading. He does not profess to give a critical text, although he shews skill and acumen in his choice of readings.

7. In 1906 a revised edition of the text was produced by Gerardus Rauschen (*Florilegium Patristicum*, fasc. v, Bonn) who claims to have been the first since Baluze to examine the four manuscripts which are extant. The collation, however, though good, is not absolutely accurate, the order in which he places the MSS is chronologically incorrect, the book contains many printer's errors, and the choice of readings in the text is not always sound.

8. The Commonitorium has been published frequently both in England and on the Continent, both separately and in collections of the writings of the Fathers. But the text printed in these numerous editions has no critical importance. It has either reproduced that of one of the above-mentioned editors —an example is the text in the Bibliotheca Patrum, Coloniae Agripp. 1618, which followed closely that of Pierre Pithou—or it has been a modified form of the text of Costerius, which with a few changes has been adopted in those printed at Helmstadt, 1625, and in more recent times at Oxford, 1836.

9. The text of the present edition is based on a fresh survey of the readings of the above editions and on a careful collation of the four manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which are the only MSS now available. These four manuscripts were examined and collated afresh by me in 1910 and the results of that collation will be found in the 'apparatus criticus.'

II. *Manuscripts.*

It is a strange fact that, in spite of the literary excellence of the Commonitorium and its value in dogmatic theology, in spite of the fact that it has been at nearly all times widely known and read, yet as far as is known, only four manuscripts of this treatise have survived. These, as has already been stated, are all preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. They are as follows:

1. Codex Paris. lat. 13,386, parchment, size $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches: saec. VIII–IX. The first few leaves of this MS are missing. It commences ch. VI (9) 'contentione defenderit susceptae...' and ends thus: 'Explicit tractatus peregrini contra haereticos.' This MS is carefully and accurately written. In the margin of the first leaf is written: Germani de pratis nr. 1314 olim 634, and underneath—Corbei. monasterii. That is, it originally belonged to Corbie near Amiens, and afterwards to S. Germain des Prés, Paris. Since about 1790 it has belonged to the Bibl. Nat. In addition to the Commonitorium of Vincentius, this codex contains three paschal epistles of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; an epistle of Epiphanius 'Ad Hieronymum'; an epistle of Jerome 'Ad Theophilum episcopum'; and (Pseudo-)Augustine 'De studio caritatis.' There is also the book of Scotus Erigena 'De Praedestinatione' and a few other small tractates written apparently in a later hand. I have denoted this in the apparatus by the letter A.

2. Codex Paris. lat. 2172, parchment, size 11 × 8 inches: saec. IX–X. Beautifully written with illustrated capitals and Anglo-Saxon ornamentation. It begins thus: 'Incipit tractatus Peregrini pro catholicae

fidei antiquitate et uniuersitate aduersus profanas omnium haereticorum nouitates,' and it ends simply: 'Explicit amen.' This MS formerly belonged to Pierre Pithou who has left his name written on several pages. His edition is practically a copy of this MS. It then passed into the collection of Colbert (No. 1793) whence it found its way to the Bibliothèque Royale (No. 3793). It was signed by Steph. Baluze in 1683. In addition to the Commonitorium, this codex contains four books of Salvian—'Ad ecclesiam seu aduersus auaritiam'; three paschal epistles of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; an epistle of Epiphanius 'Ad Hieronymum'; and an epistle of Jerome 'Ad Theophilum episcopum.' This manuscript is distinguished by several ancient forms and spellings, e.g. scribtura, scribtor, adque, inquid, forsitam. To this MS I have assigned the letter B.

3. Codex Paris. 2785 lat., formerly Reg., parchment, size $9 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches: saec. X–XI. It is written in red ink and is marred by many inaccuracies. The title stands thus: 'Incipit tractatus Peregrini pro Catholicae Fidei antiquitate et uniuersitate aduersitate (sic) aduersus profanas omnium nouitates haereticorum.' The ending has been some time or other erased and only the following words are now decipherable: 'Explicit tractatus...aduersus haereticos.' It contains also the four books of Salvian 'Ad ecclesiam.' This MS, which came from the ancient library of Fontainebleau, I have denoted in the apparatus by the letter Γ.

4. Codex Paris. 2173 lat., formerly Reg., parchment, size 11 × 8 inches: saec. XIII. Written in large characters very well formed, with illustrated capitals. Title in red thus: 'Incipit tractatus peregrini pro catholicae fidei antiquitate et uniuersitante (sic)

aduersus profanas omnium nouitates hereticorum.' (The order of the last two words as in Γ.) The ending stands thus: 'Explicit tractatus peregrini aduersus hereticos.' This MS is somewhat careless and inaccurate and contains many distinctive readings, most of which bear the appearance of conjecture. Besides the Commonitorium, this codex contains the four books of Salvian 'Ad ecclesiam'; excerpts from Ambrose and Augustine; the three paschal epistles of Theophilus; the epistle of Epiphanius to Jerome; and two epistles of Jerome to Theophilus of Alexandria. This MS, which also came from the library of Fontainebleau, is denoted in the apparatus by the letter Δ.

These four MSS have many features in common and form a group representing some earlier MS of an entirely different lineage from that represented by the *editio princeps*, which is referred to in the apparatus by the letter *s*. And inasmuch as none of the four MSS is copied from any of the others of this group, we have practically five different types of text, a critical examination of which yields the following facts:

(i) ABΓΔ differ from *s* in 125 places, of which 113 seem, from internal evidence, to be right and 12 wrong. The combined testimony, therefore, of ABΓΔ is generally to be preferred to *s*.

(ii) But ABΓΔ are not infallible. They combine in what is apparently an error in 20 places, of which *s* agrees with them in 8. These latter errors obviously occurred in the MS from which all five texts are ultimately derived and therefore go back almost to the archetype. Such is the reading in XXIII (30) 'hoc idem flore aetate maturescat' where the correct reading seems to be 'floreat et aetate maturescat': or the reading in XIV (20) 'personam hominis non

substantiae extitisse' where the true reading should be 'substantiue': or the gloss of 'et Manichaeorum' earlier in the same chapter. Of the 12 errors found in ABΓΔ but not in *s*, we must bear in mind the possibility that Sichardus altered what he found in his MS, e.g. such an obvious error as lay in VII (12) '*censura* apostolicae deterret *auctoritas*' for either 'censurae' or 'auctoritatis': or in VIII (12) ad fin., '*quisque* ille traditam semel fidem mutare temptauerit' where Sichardus reads 'quisquis.' Probably his MS also had 'quisque,' for 'quisque' often takes the place of 'quisquis' in later Latin. A very early error is seen in XVII (23) 'cuius scientiae cum graeca non cederent' (so ABΓ), 'non crederent' (so Δ + *s*), where the right reading is undoubtedly 'concederent.' In several cases incorrect spelling is found in all four MSS. Here it is impossible to tell what Sichardus found in his exemplar.

(iii) It is observed that AB stand alone against ΓΔ in 36 passages. Of these *s* supports AB in 19, of which 18 seem to be right, and *s* supports ΓΔ in 8, of which 4 seem to be right. From this it is clear that ABΓΔ represent two groups, of which AB is better than ΓΔ. The support of *s* to either of these two groups is important testimony which must be carefully weighed. For instance in XXIII (29) AB read 'quod non in pueris ante latitauerat'; ΓΔ + *s* read 'latitauerit' which is obviously right, because 'quod' is not a pure relative but is conditional. The three other places where AB are wrong against ΓΔ + *s* are probably mere slips in the exemplar of AB, such as 'condempnat,' as subjunctive, for 'contemnat' in XXXIII (43), or 'si surrexit,' for 'si surrexerit' in XVIII (24). ΓΔ + *s* seem to preserve an inferior reading in XXV (36) 'texuerunt,' where internal evidence favours 'detexuerunt' of AB:

and in IV (6) 'depopulatae uiduae' of $\Gamma\Delta + s$ is clearly wrong for 'depullatae uiduae,' etc.

(iv) We now pass on to the respective merits of single MSS. A stands alone, unsupported by $B\Gamma\Delta$, in 26 places of which 9 seem to be right. The 17 errors are mostly errors of spelling, e.g. 'uinciret' for 'uinceret' in VI (9). Of these 26 places, 9 are supported by *s*, 5 of which are apparently right. Of the correct readings attested by A alone, the following should be noticed: XXI (26) 'noua de die in diem' for 'noua in diem' of $B\Gamma\Delta + s$: XXIII (30) 'subditiuum' for 'subsidiuum' (of B), 'subṣiditiuum' (of $\Gamma\Delta$), and 'subdititium' of *s*: also in XXV (36) A reads rightly 'intellegetur' for 'intellegitur' of $B\Gamma\Delta + s$: and in XXXI (42) 'possent' for 'possint' of $B\Gamma\Delta + s$: and again in XXXIII (43) A reads 'Ephesinam' for 'Ephysiam' (of B), 'Ephesiam' (of $\Gamma\Delta$). This MS is a very good and accurate one and is considerably superior to any of the three remaining codices, and represents an infinitely better text than that of the *editio princeps* (*s*).

(v) B stands alone unsupported by $A\Gamma\Delta$ in 29 places of which 2 are right; *s* supports B in only one out of the 29 and it is one of the correct readings. The two important readings are: XXIX (42) 'obreperet' for 'subriperet' of $A\Gamma\Delta$, and 'prouinciae doctrina' XXX (42) for 'prouinciae doctrinae' of $A\Gamma\Delta + s$. But at the same time it is to be noticed that there are 7 passages in which B differs from $\Gamma\Delta$ before A comes on the scene, for the first few leaves of A are missing. Of these 7 it appears as if 5 are right, and they would probably have been supported by A, for it has already been shewn that A + B very often agree in the correct reading when $\Gamma + \Delta$ go astray. The conclusion of this evidence is that B is akin to A but not quite so good.

(vi) Γ stands alone unsupported by ABΔ in 40 places of which *s* agrees with it in 2. Apparently none of these 40 readings is correct. Many of them are mistakes in orthography, many are careless errors or omissions, and some are inaccuracies due to the illegibility of the recension followed by Γ and Δ, for many things combine to render it evident that these two MSS were copied from the same source, and doubtless Δ would agree with Γ in many of these 40 errors, were it not for his arbitrary alterations. A good illustration of the attempt of Γ to be a faithful copyist whereas Δ tries to overcome a difficulty is seen in IV (6), where the correct reading (so AB + *s*) is 'priuata ac publica.' In the MS used by Γ and Δ there was perhaps a lacuna or a blot which rendered 'ac' almost illegible. This was copied down by Γ as 'est'! Δ seeing the difficulty omitted it altogether and wrote 'priuata publica.' Again in X (15) the true reading is 'Et profecto magna temptatio est.' Γ found the word before 'profecto' difficult to read and copied it down as 'ut.' Δ seeing the absurdity of this or finding rather a similar difficulty leaves out the troublesome word and begins with 'Profecto.' The conclusion is that Γ was copied from an inferior MS which was also used by Δ, but the writer of Γ was a faithful scribe who wrote down exactly what he thought he found, however difficult and however meaningless.

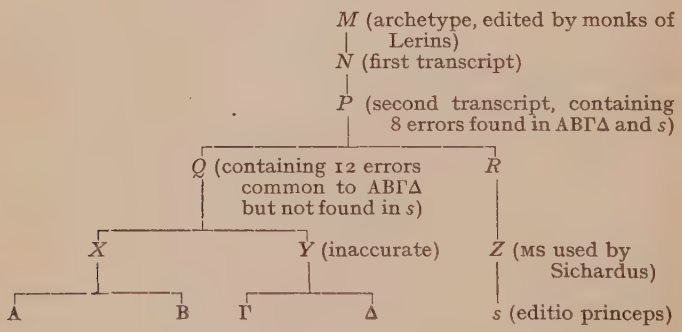
(vii) Δ stands alone in more than 100 places. These are for the most part arbitrary corrections and emendations of the difficulties and inaccuracies of the recension followed by him and Γ. The best instance of this is the difficult reading in X (15) *ad fin.* ABΓ read 'nec facile damnare *dicidas*,' *s* reads 'ducis fas,' A (secunda manus) writes over the top 'diiudicas,'

Δ boldly alters to 'audeas,' a word which gives the sense but which is textually quite valueless. In one case, by a curious chance, the attempt of Δ at improving an obscure passage is the same as the reading of *s*, although the MS used by Sichardus was entirely different, as has already been shewn, from the exemplar of Γ and Δ. In XVII (23) the true reading seems to be 'cuius scientiae cum graeca concederent.' The exemplar of A and B, and presumably the exemplar of Γ and Δ, read '*non* cederent' (so ABΓ) but Δ altered to 'non crederent,' an emendation which, though equally meaningless, is found also in *s*, who tried to give a meaning by altering *graeca* to *Graeci*. In one or two cases, but in singularly few considering how many arbitrary alterations Δ made, this MS has chosen the correct reading, e.g. in XIV (20) ABΓ + *s* read 'ea *quae* susceperat persona.' Δ altered this to 'ea *quam* susceperat persona' which is obviously right.

It might perhaps be thought that Δ was copied direct from Γ with emendations and alterations. But that this is not the case is proved by several passages where Γ has accidentally inverted words without affecting the sense, but Δ has the same order as A and B, e.g. in VIII (12) Γ reads 'traditae fidei semel.' Δ reads 'traditae semel fidei' with AB + *s*. Clearly Γ copied inaccurately from his exemplar. Again Γ sometimes makes omissions which are not found in Δ; e.g. in XXX (42) Γ omits 'iudicum uel tamquam' by homoeoteleuton. Δ does not make the same error. The conclusion is that ΓΔ both used the same incorrect and somewhat illegible exemplar but that the conjectures and emendations in Δ detract seriously from its value as evidence for a genuine text.

From the foregoing facts it will be seen that the

MSS and editions now available represent three types of text which we may call *X*, *Y* and *Z*. *X* was the parent of A and B, and was a very correct and valuable recension. *Y*, the parent of Γ and Δ, was inaccurate and badly written but was nevertheless akin to *X*, in that it was probably copied from the same manuscript which we will call *Q*, and therefore contained several errors found also in *X* but not in *s*. *Z* the parent of *s* (a MS which Sichardus possibly tore up after printing his text) has not many points in common with *Q*, but one or two affinities suggest that it was copied from a sister manuscript. Thus we get the following genealogical table which seems to account for most of the phenomena:



III. *Translations of the Commonitorium.*

The translations of the Commonitorium, as might be expected in the case of so popular a work, have been very numerous. The following list, though it is by no means exhaustive, contains some of the more important:

(1) A Scottish translation, dedicated to Mary Queen of Scots, was issued by Knox's opponent,

Ninian Winzeit, at Antwerp in 1563, the original title of which stood as follows: 'A richt goldin buke written in Latin about xi c zeris (years) passit and neulie translated in Scottis be Niniane Winzeit a catholik Preist.' A new edition of this was issued in 1890 by J. R. Hewison at Edinburgh (Scottish Text Society).

(2) An Italian version was published at Monreale in 1565 in octavo by Hieronimo Mutio dedicated to Pope Pius V.

(3) A French version—one of many—was issued in 1686 and was dedicated to M. de Harlay, archbishop of Paris.

(4) A very good French translation has been published in recent times by Brunetière et de Labriolle (*La Pensée Chrétienne, Textes et Études, Vincent de Lérins*, Paris, 1906).

(5) A German version by Feder was issued at Bamberg in 1785 in octavo.

(6) Another German version was published at Lucerne by Geiger in 1822 in octavo.

(7) Another German version worthy of mention was produced in 1870 by U. Uhl at Kempten entitled *Des heil. Vincenz von Lerin, Commonitorium*, in duodecimo.

(8) An English version was published with the Latin text at Oxford (Baxter) 1836–1837. It was a revision of a translation made in 1651 which is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (8vo D. 261 Linc.).

(9) Another English translation was produced in 1846 by the Rev. W. B. Flower, London.

(10) Another English translation is that by Dr C. A. Heurtley (late Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford) in Wace and Schaff's *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, new series, vol. xi, 1892.

(11) The most recent translation into English is that by Dr T. H. Bindley, S.P.C.K. (*Early Church Classics*), 1914. It is unfortunately based on a very incorrect text.

CHAPTER VIII

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INCIPIT TRACTATVS PEREGRINI

PRO CATHOLICAE FIDEI ANTIQVITATE ET VNIVERSITATE ADVERSVS PROFANAS OMNIVM HAERETICORVM NOVITATES.

CAP. I.

Dicente scriptura et monente: *Interroga patres tuos et dicent tibi, seniores tuos et adnuntiabunt tibi,* et item:

haer. nouit.] Bpjr. nouitates haeret. ΓΔ. haereseon nouationes sc. 2 item] BΓΔbjr. iterum sc.

Title. **incipit**] Such is the title as found in the manuscripts. Sichard and other ancient editors read as follows: 'Vincentii Lirinensis Galli pro catholicae fidei antiquitate et uniuersitate aduersus profanas omnium haereseon nouationes.' Possibly the original title which Vincentius prefixed to his work was simply: 'Commonitorium Peregrini aduersum haereses (haereticos)'; for, in the course of the treatise, he refers to it five times as 'commonitorium,' but gives it no other name, and Gennadius of Massilia (A.D. 490), in mentioning the work, says; 'quam...adtitulauit "Peregrini aduersum haereticos".' The MS title doubtless originated from the same hand that wrote the remark at the end of ch. XXVIII (40) referring to the loss of the Second Commonitorium, and that added the note at the end: 'Explicit tractatus Peregrini contra haereticos.' These three additions must be of great antiquity, for they occur in all four MSS. Moreover, after the time of Gennadius, everyone knew the identity of the author; hence the fuller title in the early editions.

1. *I will try to recollect faithfully and write down simply certain principles received by me from the fathers. This is in accordance with Scriptural precepts and will prove useful to aid my weakness of memory. Time and place too are in my favour.*

1. **scriptura**] Like the Greek γραφή, this word was generally used by ecclesiastical writers to denote a passage of Scripture, the plural being used generally of the whole Bible. Vincentius, however, frequently uses 'scriptura' for the whole Bible passim. (See Lightfoot *Gal.* iii 22.)

ib. **interroga**] Deut. xxxii 7 Old Latin version (LXX). The Vulgate has 'Interroga patrem tuum et adnuntiabit tibi; maiores tuos et dicent tibi.' But elsewhere in quoting from the Pentateuch, V. uses the Vg. (see

Verbis sapientium adcommoda tuam aurem, et item: *Fili, meos sermones ne obliuiscaris, mea autem uerba custodiat cor tuum*, uidetur mihi minimo omnium seruorum dei Peregrino, quod res non minimae utilitatis domino adiuuante futura sit, si ea quae fideliter a sanctis patribus accepi, litteris

1 tuam aurem] BΓΔspjr. aurem tuam ck. 2 meos] B (secunda manu) Δpr. meus B (prima manu) Γ. mi hos scbj. 4 quod] +sit ΓΔscbjr. omit. B (sed lacuna est post 'futura') p.

Introd. § 5). The use of the O.L. instead of the 'new' Vg. in this 'Song of Moses' is possibly due to its popular use as a Church Canticle.

1. **uerbis**] Prov. xxii 17 O.L. (LXX λόγοις σοφῶν παράβαλλε σὸν οὖς). Vg. has 'Inclina aurem tuam et audi uerba sapientium.' V. in quoting from Proverbs makes use of one of the O.L. versions in vogue before Jerome's translation was made; cf. the long quotation in ch. XXI (26). V.'s version, which follows the LXX closely, differs somewhat from that used by Ambrose (quoted by Sabatier), being in some points nearer to that found in Augustine's works.

ib. **fili, meos**] Prov. iii 1 O.L. (The LXX reads: υἱέ, ἐμῶν νομίμων μὴ ἐπιλανθάνου). Vg. has 'Fili mi, ne obliuiscaris legis meae, et praecepta mea cor tuum custodiat.'

3. **Peregrino**] Some authorities have suggested that V.'s object in writing under an assumed name was to avoid openly avowing himself the author of a work which covertly attacked St Augustine. (See Kihn's art. 'Vincentius' in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*.) As the author of the *Obiectiones Vincentianae*, he stood convicted of Semipelagian views by Prosper's *Responsiones* which had the approval of Celestine of Rome. It is therefore thought that he dared not sign his name to another polemical treatise and that he hoped to spread this work in wider circles by suppression of his real identity. It is doubtful, however, if the present was intended to be a polemical work (see Introd. § 2), and possibly V.'s reason for withholding his name was merely modesty. In choosing 'peregrinus' (=pilgrim) as his pseudonym, he was probably thinking of passages like Heb. xi 13. It was especially suitable for one who had embraced the monastic life. It is also to be noticed that V. was following the custom of his day. Salvianus in his work *De Gubernatione Dei* calls himself by the pseudonym of 'Timotheus,' and Faustus bishop of Riez—also of Lerinum—attached the name 'Eusebius' to his sermons.

4. **utilitatis**] It seems plain, especially with *infirmitati certe propriae pern.* following, that V. was not writing for his own benefit alone.

5. **patribus**] V. gathers up on the subject of tradition the teaching of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine. Particularly are there many echoes in the Commonitorium of the treatise 'De Praescriptione' of Tertullian. Harnack (*Dogmengeschichte*, vol. III, ch. iii [Eng. Trans.] 'On Tradition') thinks that the greater part of V.'s Rule comes from Augustine himself (cf. *De Bapt.* iv 24). But though V. makes no claim to originality,

comprehendam, infirmitati certe propriae pernecessaria, quippe cum adsit in promptu, unde imbecillitas memoriae meae adsidua lectione reparetur. Ad quod me negotium non solum fructus operis sed etiam consideratio temporis et opportunitas loci adhortatur. Sed tempus, propterea quod, cum ab eo omnia humana rapiantur, et nos ex eo aliquid in inuicem rapere debemus quod in uitam proficiat aeternam; praesertim cum et adpropinquantis diuini *iudicii terribilis quaedam expectatio* augeri efflagitet studia religionis, et nouorum haereticorum fraudulentia multum curae et adtentionis indicat. Locus autem, quod urbium frequentiam turbasque uitantes remotioris uillulae et in ea

5 sed tempus] BΓΔr. et tempus sj. tempus cpbk 6 ab eo omn. hum.] BΓΔspjr. hum. omn. ab eo ck. 7 in inuicem] BΓΔscjr. inuicem pbk. 11 indicat] BΓΔbjr. indigeat scp. 12 frequentiam] BΔspbjr. frequentias Γck.

yet to him belongs the credit of having collected these scattered phrases and drawn them up in a memorable and striking formula.

1. **infirmitati**] V. makes several references to his shortness of memory (cf. p. 61 l. 3, p. 63 l. 14, p. 123 l. 12, p. 136 l. 1); and we may doubtless regard it as having been a real weakness, and therefore a source of trouble to one who was so learned and so widely read. But this infirmity was not his sole or even his chief reason for writing the present treatise. It is possible that the allusion to it is only a literary device, for the main object of the book is to formulate and give the world a guiding rule for distinguishing between heresy and orthodoxy. See Introd. §§ 1, 2.

5. **sed tempus**] The fact that 'sed' is not required and seems somewhat strange here would account for its omission or alteration by ancient editors. But the reading of the MSS is quite in accordance with the usage of V. in other places. This explanatory 'sed' is also found p. 53 l. 9 'sed carnem,' and p. 60 l. 8 'sed unitate personae.'

6. **ex eo**] sc. tempore, i.e. *this life* as contrasted with *eternity*.

8. **adpropinquantis**] The end of the world and the last judgment were commonly thought by the early Christians to be near. Possibly V. is here alluding to the ravages of the Vandals and other forces of disruption which were then menacing the Roman Empire and which seemed to denote the approaching end.

9. **iudicii**] Hebr. x 27 Vg. See Introd. § 5.

11. **indicat**] 'the cunning of recent heretics imposes on us much care and attention.' Indigeat—the reading of Sichard—is probably the correction of some scribe, if it is not his own emendation, but it is unnecessary and would be very harsh with the accusative multum. 'Indicat' is of course from indicere, not from indicare.

12. **uillulae**] originally 'a small country-house.' Here, apparent-

secretum monasterii incolamus habitaculum, ubi absque magna distractione fieri possit illud quod canitur in psalmo: *Vacate*, inquit, *et uidete quoniam ego sum dominus*. Sed et propositi nostri ratio in id conuenit, quippe qui, cum aliquamdiu uariis ac tristibus saecularis militiae turbinibus

3 dominus] BΓΔpjr. deus sck.

ly, it means the 'settlement' of which the monastery formed a part, remote from the din and tumult of city life,—the word 'villa' being already on its way to mean a village. Dirksen, *Manuale* s.v., quotes from a fragment of the Digest of Justinian, 'Non solum in oppidis, sed et in uillis et in uicis.' It has been thought strange by some that in A.D. 434 a *uillula* should have already sprung up in an island which Honoratus a few years previously had found desolate and without inhabitant (see Noris *Hist. Pelag.* p. 251, Patavii 1673). But there is little doubt that Lerins was quickly peopled by those who desired the quiet of solitude and the opportunity for uninterrupted study afforded by a place that was in the fifth century free from the risk of invasion. For other explanations of the word *uillula*, see Tillemont *Mémoires* xv 860; Hefele *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte*, Tübing. 1864 I 147; and M. Poirel *De Utroque Commonitorio* p. 97, who thought that it referred to the ancient Roman town in the island.

1. **monasterii**] i.e. of Lerinum, in the island of that name, now Lérins or S. Honorat, so called from Honoratus who founded the monastery in A.D. 410. The island lies in the Mediterranean Sea, off Antibes or Cannes. The monastery became one of the most famous schools of theological thought in Southern Gaul and a stronghold of Semipelagian views. Among the more prominent members of this abbey were Hilary (afterwards bishop of Arles), Faustus bishop of Riez, Salvianus, Eucherius of Lyons, Lupus of Troyes, and Caesarius of Arles—names alone sufficient to render the monastery of Lerins illustrious. Its golden age lasted till its capture by the Saracens in 730. For the subsequent history of the 'Isle of Saints' see Cooper-Marsdin *History of the Islands of the Lerins*, Camb. 1913.

3. **uacate**] Ps. xlv (xlvi) 10 O.L. LXX σχολάσατε καὶ γνῶτε ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεός (Vulg. deus). *Dominus* is also found in the Coislin, Corbie and Mozarabic psalters. But no argument can be founded on the substitution of dn̄s for ds̄ in a Latin text. The changes are too erratic. See Introd. § 5.

4. **propositi**] 'But it also accords well with the plan of what I have set before myself.' 'Propositum' is here used in a quasi-technical sense and refers to V.'s resolution to adopt the monastic life: cf. religionis p. 5 l. 1.

5. **militiae**] Some have taken this to mean that V. had in earlier life actually been engaged in military duties, but it is more likely to be metaphorical. The context favours this supposition, as does also a similar use of *militia* by other Christian writers, cf. Jerome *Ep.* LII. 1, 'Petis a me, Nepotiane carissime,... ut tibi breui uolumine digeram praecepta uiuendi et qua ratione is

uolueremur, tandem nos in portum religionis, cunctis semper fidissimum, Christo adspirante condidimus, ut ibi depositis uanitatis ac superbiae flatibus christianae humilitatis sacrificio placantes deum non solum praesentis uitae naufragia sed etiam futuri saeculi incendia uitare possimus. Sed iam in nomine domini quod instat adgrediar, ut scilicet a maioribus tradita et apud nos deposita describam relatoris fide potius quam auctoris praesumptione, hac tamen scribendi lege seruata, ut nequaquam omnia sed tantum necessaria quaeque perstringam, neque id ornato et exacto sed facili communique sermone, ut pleraque significata potius quam explicata uideantur. Scribant hi laute et

5 possimus] BΓΔspbjr. possemus c et alii. 12 hi] BΔpbjr. hii Γs. ii c.

qui *saeculi militia* derelicta uel monachus coeperit esse uel clericus.' See also Gibb's note on Aug. *Conf.* VIII 14 (p. 216).

1. **religionis**] This word, like 'propositum' above, seems to be used in its technical sense for the monastic life. Ducange s.v. quotes the use of the word in this sense by V.'s contemporary, Salvian.

2. **condidimus**] Classical usage would require the subjunctive. See Introd. § 4.

3. **humilitatis**] V.'s natural modesty and hatred of self-assertion is to be noticed (cf. *minimo* omnium *seruorum* Dei: p. 2 l. 3). Throughout the treatise V. claims no credit for originality and declares that he derived all his ideas from others.

4. **placantes**] This word continues the metaphor of *sacrificio*, but it hardly belongs to the New Testament circle of ideas. Cf., however, Heb. xiii 16 'talibus enim hostiis promeretur Deus' (Vg.).

5. **incendia**] For the fifth-century conception of the fires of Hell, see Salvian *De Gub. Dei* ch. viii ad fin. It is interesting to observe how definite the doctrine of a place of punishment hereafter was at this time.

7. **deposita**] Here we already touch the word on which so much of V.'s argument turns. Cf. ch. XXII (27).

ib. **relatoris fide**] 'with the accuracy of a reporter.' Cf. note on *humilitatis* above.

10. **necessaria quaeque**] V. is fond of this use of *quisque* (see Index III). It is not classical, but bears a resemblance to the classical use of *quisque* with superlative.

ib. **perstringam**] 'touch lightly on,' 'narrate briefly': a Ciceronian word.

ib. **exacto**] lit. 'measured,' hence 'precise,' 'accurate'; chiefly post-Augustan.

11. **communi**] =usitato, i.e. the language of every day; colloquial speech. V.'s style, however, is by no means commonplace. This is merely another

accurate qui ad hoc munus uel ingenii fiducia uel officii ratione ducuntur. Me uero subleuandae recordationis uel potius obliuionis meae gratia commonitorium mihimet parasse suffecerit, quod tamen paulatim recolendo, quae didici, emendare et implere cottidie domino praestante conabor. Atque hoc ipsum idcirco praemonui, ut, si forte elapsum nobis in manus sanctorum deuenerit, nihil in eo temere reprehendant, quod adhuc uideant promissa emendatione limandum.

6 atque] BΓΔpbjr. atqui sc.

instance of his modesty. See Introd. § 4 'On the Style of V.'

1. **officii ratione**] 'in fulfilment of their duty,' i.e. professional scribes, opposed to the talented authors just referred to in 'ingenii fiducia.'

3. **obliuionis**] 'to help my memory or rather my forgetfulness.' See note on 'infirmitati,' p. 3 l. 1.

ib. **commonitorium**] 'a reminder.' Technically, a paper of instructions given to a person charged with a commission or to a legate setting out to a province, in order to assist his memory as to details (late Lat.); see Symm. *Ep.* v 21; 'secundum commonitorium quo summatim muneri praeparanda perscripsi.' The word was also used by Marius Mercator, an Italian or African merchant of ecclesiastical tastes, who wrote the Commonitorium ad Theodosium Imper., and also a Commonitorium adu. haeresim Pelagii. See note on the Title. For other places in the treatise where the word 'Commonitorium' is used consult Index.

7. **sanctorum**] Coster suggested in place of this word, 'censorum'; i.e. 'if this book falls into the hands of critics.' This conjecture however has not been adopted by any subsequent editor. V. is merely disarming his critics by the use of the word.

9. **limandum**] lit. 'to be filed down,' 'smoothed.' 'That they may not rashly censure anything in the book when they see my promise that it shall some day be corrected and finished off,' or 'that it still lacks its promised correction and revision.' This preface scarcely proves, as H. Koch asserts (*Vincenz von Lerin und Gennadius, Texte u. Untersuch.*, Leipzig, 1907), that V. did not intend his work for publication. His remarks about the private nature of his work, his excuse for defects of style, his reference to his own forgetfulness, are partly due to monkish modesty and are partly expressed with a view to disarming unfriendly criticism. The whole tone of the work shews that it was intended to convince others and to provide the Church with a rule of orthodoxy which would be useful for it in the future. There is also a possibility that it was at the same time an attempt at self-vindication as a result of the severe handling that his earlier pamphlet against Augustinianism—the *Obiectiones Vincentianae*—had met with. See Introd. §§ 1, 2.

Cap. II.

(1) Saepe igitur magno studio et summa adtentione perquirens a quam plurimis sanctitate et doctrina praestantibus uiris, quonammodo possim certa quadam et quasi generali ac regulari uia catholicae fidei ueritatem ab haereticae prauitatis falsitate discernere, huiusmodi semper responsum ab omnibus fere rettuli, quod, siue ego siue quis uellet exsurgentium haereticorum fraudes deprehendere laqueosque uitare et in fide sana sanus atque integer permanere, duplici modo munire fidem suam domino adiuuante deberet, primum scilicet diuinae legis auctoritate, tum deinde ecclesiae catholicae traditione.

(2) Hic forsitan requirat aliquis: Cum sit perfectus

6 siue quis] BΓΔsp. siue quis alius cbjr. 9 domino] BΔscbjr. deo Γ. 10 primum] BΓΔpb²jr (uide p. 120 l. 4). primo scb¹²k. 12 sit] Bscbjr. omit. ΓΔ.

II. *The tests for distinguishing catholic truth from heresy are twofold:* (1) *the authority of Scripture, and* (2) *the tradition of the Church. The latter is necessary to aid in expounding the former since there have been so many interpretations of Holy Writ, and its support is claimed even by heretics. We must hold that which has been held everywhere, always, and by all, that is, we must be guided by Oecumenicity, Antiquity, and Consent.*

4. **regulari**] Late Latin; probably taken from the legal use of *regula*, 'by way of a maxim to suit all cases.' 'A fixed and, as it were, general and guiding principle for the discernment of the true catholic faith.'

ib. **fidei**] For the use of *fides* in V. see note p. 97 l. 8.

6. **quod**] Several times V. uses *quod* with subjunct., and once (p. 77 l. 7) with the indicative, instead of accusative and infinitive. See Introd. § 4 and Index III.

ib. **quis**] apparently = quisquam, which would be more usual for '*any*body' with this emphasis; there is no need to insert 'alius,' especially as the testimony of all MSS and the 'editio princeps' is against it. 'Whether I or anybody wish to discover, etc.'

10. **diuinae legis**] = 'the Bible,' a phrase found nine times in this treatise. The use of 'lex' in the Commonitorium is interesting:

(*a*) = Pentateuch ('de lege' p. 109 l. 5).

(*b*) = The Bible [i] lex dei; p. 130 l. 2: [ii] lex sacra; p. 102 l. 7, p. 107 l. 8, p. 114 l. 11: [iii] lex diuina; p. 7 l. 10, p. 26 l. 4, p. 37 l. 5, p. 69 l. 10, p. 103 l. 9, p. 105 l. 5, p. 106 l. 7, p. 107 l. 1, p. 113 l. 4.

11. **traditione**] It seems a little uncertain whether V. means explicit teaching on the particular points in question, orally conveyed, or whether he means the sum of ideas which constitute Christianity as a living religion. For a discussion of the subject see Introd. § 3.

scripturarum canon sibique ad omnia satis superque sufficiat, quid opus est ut ei ecclesiasticae intellegentiae iungatur auctoritas? Quia uidelicet scripturam sacram pro ipsa sui altitudine non uno eodemque sensu uniuersi accipiunt, sed eiusdem eloquia aliter atque aliter alius atque alius interpretatur, ut paene quot homines sunt, tot illinc sententiae erui posse uideantur. Aliter namque illam Nouatianus, aliter Sabellius, aliter Donatus exponit,

1 sibique] BΓscbjr. sibi Δ. 2 quid] BΔscpbjr. quod Γ. 4 sui] BΓΔspjr. sua cb. 5 atque aliter] BΓΔscjr. omit. p.

1. **canon**] lit. 'a straight rod, or measuring line,' hence 'the rule or body of rules which keeps things straight.' In eccles. Latin the word is applied to the contents of the Bible, and its use is explained in two ways: (i) the 'Rule' which determined what books should be included in the list of sacred Scriptures, from which the word was transferred to the books thus selected; (ii) the books of the Bible as forming the 'Rule' of faith. The latter interpretation is certainly the one intended here.

2. **intellegentiae**] 'the interpretation of the Church'; cf. p. 59 l. 8 'personae intell.' i.e. 'conception of his person'; and p. 120 l. 10 'scripturae intellegentia.'

4. **sui**] This use of the personal pronoun instead of the possessive is found in four other places in the treatise; p. 28 l. 3 'ipsa sui obscuritate'; p. 59 l. 6 'ulla sui conuersione'; p. 75 l. 13 'consensum sui'; and p. 114 l. 11 'ad defensionem sui.' See Introd. § 4.

ib. **uniuersi**] = omnes. Frequently so used by V.

5. **eloquia**] 'declarations,' 'statements.' The use of this word in V. is threefold: (i) In sing. 'eloquence,' e.g. 'eloquio praepotens' p. 42 l. 10; used also by Augustan poets for 'eloquentia,' cf. Hor. *A.P.* 217; Virg. *Aen.* XI 383. (ii) Also in sing. 'utterance,' 'language,' e.g. 'caelestis eloquii aromate adspergunt' p. 103 l. 11 (cf. proloquium p. 104 l. 11). (iii) Only in plur. (as here) with or without *diuina* 'the words of Scripture,' p. 41 l. 1, p. 42 l. 15, p. 80 l. 3, p. 84 l. 5, p. 111 l. 1, p. 129 l. 17.

6. **quot homines**] For this famous proverb, see Ter. *Phorm.* II 4. 14 and Cic. *Fin.* I 5. 15.

8. **Nouatianus**] The founder of the first sect that separated from the Church on the question of discipline, A.D. 251. For new light on this interesting sect who were called by themselves *καθαροί* (Euseb. *H.E.* VI 43) but by others Nouatiani, see Bardenhewer *Gesch. der altkirchl. Litter.* II 559 ff.; Harnack *Chronol.* II 396 ff.; and Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litter.* Theil III, 2nd ed. 1905, p. 415 et seq.

ib. **Sabellius**] Sabellianism began as a reaction against the Gnosticism of the Second Century and continued as a protest against the Arianism of the Fourth. In the East, Monarchianism whether 'dynamic' or 'modalistic' was called indiscriminately Sabellianism though Sabellius was merely a modalistic monarchian. See article under 'Sabellius' in the *Kirchenlexicon* (Wetzer und Welte) 2nd ed. 1897.

ib. **Donatus**] surnamed 'the

aliter Arrius, Eunomius, Macedonius, aliter Photinus, Apollinaris, Priscillianus, aliter Iouinianus, Pelagius,

1 Arrius] sic, *non* Arius, codd., et fere semper in ceteris quoque scriptoribus.

Great' succeeded Majorinus as schismatic bishop of Carthage A.D. 315. He was a man of deep learning, eloquence and undaunted courage. Of him Augustine, the most powerful and determined opponent of Donatism, says: 'eloquentia sua sic confirmauit hanc haeresim ut multi existiment propter ipsum potius eos Donatistas uocari' (Aug. *De Haer.* 69). This was a schismatic movement originating in the African Church early in the fourth century and was an outcome of the persecution of Diocletian. For a good résumé of Donatism see Dom Leclercq *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris, 1904, vol. I, p. 312.

1. **Arrius**] So spelt in all the MSS and principal editions for Arius (Ἄρειος) the founder of Arianism. Indeed this spelling is almost invariable in the best Latin MSS of early authors. The reason probably is that the Latins wrongly equated the Greek name Ἄρειος with their own well-known name Arrius (accented on the same syllable) which is at least as old as Catullus (*Thesaurus* II cols. 507, 643). Arius denied the Eternal Sonship of the Word and the Personal Godhead of Jesus Christ. For details regarding this important fourth century heresy see Prof. Gwatkin's *Studies of Arianism*, Camb. 1882; and also *Camb. Mediaeval History* vol. I.

ib. **Eunomius**] One of the leaders of the anomoean or radical party of Arians, who in opposition to the Athanasian or Nicene doctrine of the consubstantiality (ὁμοουσία) of the Son with the Father, taught that the Son was *dissimilar* to the Father (ἀνόμοιος) and of a *different substance* from Him (ἑτεροούσιος).

ib. **Macedonius**] became bishop of Constantinople in A.D. 342, after the deposition and subsequent murder of the orthodox Paulus. He was deposed in 360 and died soon afterwards in one of the suburbs of the city. It was not until his death that the party was formed which was afterwards known by his name. In the East they were called Pneumatomachi and their views were definitely condemned at the Second General Council at Constantinople in the year 381. Arius, Eunomius and Macedonius are mentioned together because they all attacked the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

ib. **Photinus**] See below p. 42 l. 1. V. discusses his views with those of Apollinaris and Nestorius in ch. XII as an excursus.

2. **Apollinaris**] See below, p. 43 l. 5.

ib. **Priscillianus**] Bishop of Abila in Spain; executed about A.D. 385 at Trier on a charge of Manicheism and magic. See Dierich *Die Quellen zur Gesch. des Priscillianismus*, Breslau, 1897; E. Edling *Priscillianus och den äldre Priscillianismen*, Upsala, 1902; K. Künstle *Antipriscilliana*, Freiburg i. B., 1905; Tixeront *Hist. des Dogmes* II (ed. 3) p. 231 foll.

ib. **Iouinianus**] A polemical writer against the excessive valuation of the celibate and ascetic life who flourished about A.D. 385, known by Jerome's treatise against him.

ib. **Pelagius**] A British monk born about A.D. 370, who taught

Caelestius, aliter postremo Nestorius. Atque idcirco multum necesse est propter tantos tam uarii erroris anfractus, ut propheticae et apostolicae interpretationis linea secundum ecclesiastici et catholici sensus normam dirigatur.

(3) In ipsa item catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est; hoc est etenim uere proprieque catholicum quod ipsa uis nominis ratioque declarat quae omnia fere uniuersaliter comprehendit. Sed hoc ita demum fiet si sequamur uniuersitatem antiquitatem

9 fere] BΓΔpjr. uere sc. 10 fiet] ΓΔbr. fiat Bp. fit scj.

that man had no need of supernatural grace nor inherited original sin. In 416 two African Synods condemned his doctrine, and Zosimus, bishop of Rome, to whom he had appealed, was obliged to yield to the firmness of the bishops and condemn Pelagius, though he had at first set aside their decision.

1. **Caelestius**] A friend and follower of Pelagius. See Brückner *Quellen zur Geschichte des Pelag. Streites*, Tübingen, 1906.

ib. **Nestorius**] See below p. 40 l. 5.

2. **anfractus**] 'intricacies,' lit. turnings, windings. 'Because of the great intricacies of error which is itself of so many different kinds.'

3. **propheticae**] This adj. only occurs once more in this treatise, viz. p. 108 l. 8 'apostolica seu prophetica uerba.' The nouns, however, V. frequently uses in conjunction, e.g. 'prophetarum et apostolorum proloquia' p. 104 l. 11. By the 'prophets and apostles' V. means the Bible generally.

6. **quod ubique**] For the value of this famous maxim, its difficulties and its bearing on modern Christianity, see Introd. § 3. The rest of the treatise is taken up with its illustration and application.

8. **catholicum**] The Church is first called 'catholic' by Ignatius *Ep. ad Smyrn.* viii; ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, where see Lightfoot's note. For an early interpretation of the word see Optatus *De Schism. Donat.* II 1. 'Vbi ergo erit proprietas catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit catholica quod sit rationabilis et ubique diffusa?' Probably 'rationabilis' in this quot. refers to the use of καθολικός or ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων for the officer called a 'rationalis' (see Feltoe's *Dionysius Al.* p. 74). It is possible that something of the sort lies in V.'s words following: 'ratio...quae o. f. u. comprehendit.'

10. **fiet**] The future is right because it corresponds with 'sequemur autem.' B may have been misled by 'si sequamur.' A unfortunately is wanting.

ib. **uniuersitatem**] i.e. 'oecumenicity.' To translate this word by 'universality' is to risk creating a confusion with the idea of 'consent.' It is plain that V. means the character of being

consensionem. Sequemur autem uniuersitatem hoc modo, si hanc unam fidem ueram esse fateamur quam tota per orbem terrarum confitetur ecclesia, antiquitatem uero ita, si ab his sensibus nullatenus recedamus, quos sanctos maiores ac patres nostros celebrasse manifestum est, consensionem quoque itidem, si in ipsa uetustate omnium uel certe paene omnium sacerdotum pariter et magistrorum definitiones sententiasque sectemur.

'world-wide' as the catholic Church is.

1. **consensionem**] Of these three guides in the interpretation of Scripture, 'oecumenicity' and 'antiquity' are discussed in the rest of the first book. In what way the 'consent' of the Fathers is to be arrived at is a question reserved for the Second Commonitorium where it is illustrated by the course adopted at the Council of Ephesus.

4. **sensibus**] 'interpretations,' 'meanings.' In this sense poet. and post-Aug., especially frequent in Quintilian; cf. Quin. VI 3. 48 'uerba duos sensus significantia.' Here it refers to the interpretations of Scripture. V. of course means that we must not interpret Scripture in a way that conflicts with the interpretation that has always been put upon it.

ib. **nullatenus**] adv. 'in no wise,' 'by no means' (=haudquaquam), post-class.

5. **celebrasse**] 'proclaimed,' 'published abroad' (without necessarily the accessory notion of extolling); a Ciceronian usage, cf. Cic. *Diu.* I 17. 31 qua re celebrata. It should be observed that the word implies the consent of *numbers*: 'have united to proclaim.'

6. **uetustate**] This word and *antiquitas* (l. 3) are used by V. indiscriminately, except perhaps p. 97 l. 7, where both words are used together (q.v.).

7. **sacerdotum**] =episcoporum; like ἱερεύς in Greek, cf. p. 20 l. 10, p. 40 l. 10, p. 87 l. 17. So V. refers to the bishops assembled at the Council of Ephesus as 'catholici sacerdotes.' See p. 121 l. 8 'omnibus ecclesiae catholicae sacerdotibus,' and p. 122 l. 8 'omnes catholicos sacerdotes fuisse constaret.' This usage is constant from the time of Cyprian onwards.

8. **definitiones**] This word is used only once more by V. viz. p. 91 l. 11. It means the determination of the Fathers as to the meaning of a passage of Scripture or of Christian doctrine in general. It is worthy of note that Augustine (*De Dono Pers.* § 68) referred himself for correction to the doctors of the Church, i.e. to those who had a right by reason of their office or their learning to be heard.

Cap. III.

(4) Quid igitur tunc faciet Christianus catholicus, si se aliqua ecclesiae particula ab uniuersalis fidei communione praeciderit? Quid utique, nisi ut pestifero corruptoque membro sanitatem uniuersi corporis anteponat? Quid, si nouella aliqua contagio non iam portiunculam tantum, sed totam pariter ecclesiam commaculare conetur? Tunc item prouidebit ut antiquitati inhaereat, quae prorsus iam non potest ab ulla nouitatis fraude seduci. Quid, si in ipsa uetustate duorum aut trium hominum uel certe ciuitatis unius aut etiam prouinciae alicuius error deprehendatur? Tunc omnino curabit ut paucorum temeritati uel inscitiae si qua sunt uniuersaliter antiquitus uniuersalis concilii

1 tunc] BΓΔbjr. omit. sc. 3 utique] BΓΔcpbjr. itaque s. 7 prorsus] BΔscbpjr. prorsum Γ. 11 inscitiae] Bscbpjr. inscientiae ΓΔ. 12 concilii] BΓΔspb³jr. ecclesiae cb¹².

III. *A small part of the Church disagreeing with the rest must be cut off like a diseased limb, nay, even a large part of it if it does not cleave to Antiquity, which must be tested by the decrees of General Councils, or, failing them, by the consentient opinion of those Fathers of whose orthodoxy there has never been any doubt.*

In this section V. interprets the successive members of his rule, *ubique* in the sentences Quid igitur...anteponat, *semper* in Quid si...seduci, and *ab omnibus* in Quid si in ipsa...credendum.

2. **fidei com.**] Cf. Philemon 6, where all the Lat. versions seem to have communicatio fidei, not communio.

3. **corrupto membro**] Perhaps an allusion to Matt. xviii 8.

5. **portiunculam**] 'an insignificant part.' The frequent use of diminutives is a mark of late Latin. The word is here used as being slightly more emphatic than 'particula' used above.

12. **uniuersalis concilii**] There had been three General Councils before the Commonitorium was written; Nicaea, A.D. 325, Constantinople, 381, and Ephesus, 431. To the objection that even these Councils, though generally recognized as oecumenical, were not really representative and were not absolutely free from constraint, it is answered that their decisions were subsequently accepted by Christendom. Councils not oecumenical have value as expressing the judgment of the Church when their dogmatic decrees have obtained the stamp of approval by posterity. The statement of Archdeacon Wilson (*Essays and Addresses*, Macmillan, 1887) that the spiritual illumination of the Church has not been 'focussed' even by General Councils is answered by Prof. Stanton *The Place of Authority in Religious Belief* (ch. iv), Longmans, 1891.

decreta praeponat. Quid, si tale aliquid emergat, ubi nihil eiusmodi reperiatur? Tunc operam dabit, ut conlatas inter se maiorum consulat interrogetque sententias, eorum dumtaxat, qui diuersis licet temporibus et locis, in unius tamen ecclesiae catholicae communione et fide permanentes, magistri probabiles exstiterunt; et quicquid non unus aut duo tantum sed omnes pariter uno eodemque consensu aperte frequenter perseueranter tenuisse scripsisse docuisse cognouerit, id sibi quoque intellegat absque ulla dubitatione credendum.

CAP. IV.

Sed ut planiora fiant, quae dicimus, exemplis singillatim inlustranda sunt et paulo uberius exaggeranda, ne inmodicae

2 eiusmodi] BΓΔspbjr. huiusmodi c.

1. **emergat**] 'What, if some question should arise on which no such collective pronouncement is found to bear?'

3. **maiorum**] For the difficulties in connexion with this appeal to the Fathers see Introd. § 3. Cf. also Salmon *Infallibility of the Church*, where he points out the inconsistency of this appeal with the theory of development. But in favour of it we can, at least, assert that if we find a principle or point of faith widely spread and persistent through long periods, and discovered, albeit in a very rudimentary form as yet undeveloped, in the dimmest period of Christian thought and life, then, provided it can be shewn to be consistent with the teaching of the N.T., it has a clear title to guide and control the thought and the practice of professing Christians. As instances of this one may quote the doctrine of the sacraments, or faith in the atonement of our Lord.

4. **dumtaxat**] An old legal term meaning 'at least,' 'provided that,' 'with this restriction.' Frequent in Lucretius: found five times in this treatise. See Index III.

6. **unus aut duo**] Apparently a case of anacoluthon. V. doubtless began with the intention of saying 'tenuerint, scripserint, docuerint.' Then he slipped into the accus. and infin. after cognouerit and forgot to alter to unum and duos.

8. **aperte**] Observe V.'s fondness for threefold phrases, generally leading up to a climax; cf. p. 26 l. 11 'abolita antiquata calcata,' and often. See Introd. § 4.

9. **intellegat**] Jussive subj.—'Let him (i.e. the Catholic Christian) understand that he also is to believe this without any hesitation whatever.'

breuitatis studio rapiantur rerum pondera orationis celeritate.

(5) Tempore Donati, a quo Donatistae, cum sese multa pars Africae in erroris sui furias praecipitaret, cumque, inmemor nominis religionis professionis, unius hominis sacrilegam temeritatem ecclesiae Christi praeponeret, tunc, quicumque per Africam constituti profano schismate detestato uniuersis mundi ecclesiis adsociati sunt, soli ex illis omnibus intra sacraria catholicae fidei salui esse potuerunt, egregiam profecto relinquentes posteris formam, quemadmodum scilicet deinceps bono more unius aut certe paucorum uesaniae uniuersorum sanitas anteferretur.

1 orationis] BΓscbjr. et orationis Δ. 10 relinquentes] BΔscpbjr. relinquentis Γ. 11 scilicet] BΓΔb³jr. scilicet et sc.

IV. *Illustrations of V.'s rule and the evil resulting from a non-adherence to Oecumenicity and Antiquity. The rule 'ubique' illustrated by Donatism, the rule 'semper' by Arianism.* The illustration of 'ab omnibus' does not come till XXVIII (39), though it is touched upon in V (8).

1. **pondera**] 'matters of real importance.'

3. **Donatistae**] sc. appellantur. (See note on Donatus p. 8 l. 8.) This sect became so powerful that for some time it formed the strongest party in the Church of Africa. There were 270 Donatist bishops there in A.D. 330. Cf. Jerome *De uiris inlustr.* xciii, 'Donatus... totam paene Africam et maxime Numidiam sua persuasione decepit.' Also Possidius *Vita S. Augustini* 7 'Africa, rebaptizante Donati parte maiorem multitudinem Afrorum, seducta et oppressa iacebat.'

5. **nominis**] sc. Christiani. Cf. Adamantius I 8 (p. 16 Bakhuyzen): *πῶς εἰ Χριστιανός, ὃς οὐδὲ ὄνομα Χριστιανοῦ κατηξίωσαι φέρειν; οὐ γὰρ Χριστιανὸς ὀνομάζῃ ἀλλὰ Μαρκιωνιστής.*

8. **detestato**] Perf. part. of deponent 'detestor' used passively; 'the impious separation being regarded with horror.' Cf. Hor. *Od.* I 1. 25 'bellaque matribus detestata.' V. adopts this licence in four other passages: p. 40 l. 10 *prosecutum*; p. 107 l. 1 *interpretatis*; p. 109 l. 6 *interpretatis*; p. 119 l. 1 *pollicitum*. The latter, however, is frequently used as a passive in classical Latin. See Introd. § 4.

9. **sacraria**] 'sacred precincts.' This idea of the shelter and protection afforded by the true faith is a favourite one with V., cf. p. 5 l. 1 'portum religionis'; see also p. 82 l. 1, where the simile is still further developed.

10. **formam**] 'example,' 'precedent,' cf. p. 24 l. 2. This use of the word is common in the Latin of the period; see for ex. the Vg. at 1 Thess. i 7, 2 Thess. iii 9, 1 Peter v 3. In one other place, p. 22 l. 5, V. uses 'formulam' in the same sense.

(6) Item quando Arrianorum uenenum non iam portiunculam quamdam sed paene orbem totum contaminauerat, adeo ut prope cunctis latini sermonis episcopis partim ui partim fraude deceptis caligo quaedam mentibus obfunderetur, quidnam potissimum in tanta rerum confusione sequendum foret, tunc, quisquis uerus Christi amator et cultor exstitit, antiquam fidem nouellae perfidiae praeferendo, nulla contagii ipsius peste maculatus est. Cuius quidem temporis periculo satis superque monstratum est, quantum inuehatur calamitatis nouelli dogmatis inductione. Tunc siquidem non solum paruae res, sed

1 Arrianorum] Δ (et A alibi, uide p. 54 l. 4) cb³jr. Arriorum BΓp. Arianorum s. 8 praeferendo] BΓscbjr. praeferendae Δ.

1. **Arrianorum**] See note on 'Arrius' p. 9 l. 1. The Arians are introduced here as an example of non-adherence to antiquity. Those who were unaffected by the new error were those who clung tenaciously to the old faith even though the Emperor and his palace yielded to the infatuation.

ib. **non iam portiunculam**] V.'s hypothesis above, III (4), 'totam pariter ecclesiam,' was not a purely imaginary case: the situation had actually arisen, or nearly so.

3. **latini sermonis**] The state of things in the Greek-speaking world was even worse: but V. seems not to have known it. Perhaps, however, he was only thinking of the Council of Ariminum, where the East was not represented. See Gwatkin *Studies of Arianism* p. 170 foll., Bright *Age of the Fathers* 1 264 foll., 283 foll.

ib. **episcopis**] More than 400 bishops (according to Athanasius's reckoning), after having assented to the Creed of Nicaea, were persuaded partly by fraud and partly by threats to reject its principal statements and to subscribe to an Arian formulary at Ariminum (Rimini) A.D. 359. Jerome's reference to this is well known, *Dial. adu. Lucif.* § 19: 'Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est.' Cf. also Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* II 43, where it is said that some of these bishops were of weak mind and others were overcome by the fatigue of travel (partim imbecillitate ingenii partim taedio peregrinationis euicti). For another reference to this 'perfidia Ariminensis' see p. 122 l. 4.

11. **siquidem**] 'since,' 'inasmuch as'; or perhaps = *uidelicet* 'namely.' This absolute use of *siquidem* is found in two other places of the Commonitorium, p. 22 l. 8 'siquidem mos iste semper in ecclesia uiguit'; and p. 89 l. 2 'siquidem ad profectum pertinet, etc.' It is very common in patristic Latin, and occurs half a dozen times in the Vg. Here the position in the sentence is somewhat unusual, and makes it exactly = *enim*.

ib. **paruae res**] This passage seems to be a reference to Sallust *Iugurtha* X; 'nam concordia paruae res crescunt, discordia

etiam maximae labefactatae sunt. Nec enim tantum adfinitates cognationes amicitiae domus, uerum etiam urbes populi prouinciae nationes, uniuersum postremo Romanum imperium funditus concussum et emotum est. Namque cum profana ipsa Arrianorum nouitas uelut quaedam Bellona aut Furia, capto primo omnium imperatore, cuncta deinde palatii culmina legibus nouis subiugasset, nequaquam deinceps destitit uniuersa miscere atque uexare, priuata ac publica, sacra profanaque omnia, nullum boni et ueri gerere discrimen, sed quoscumque conlibuisset, tamquam de loco superiore percutere. Tunc

5 Arrianorum] Δcb³jr. Arriorum BΓp. Arianorum s. 6 primo] BΓΔpb³jr. prius sck. 9 priuata ac publica] Bscbjr. priuata est publica Γ. priuata publica Δ. 11 conlibuisset] scbjr. conlibuisset et BΓΔ p.

maximae dilabuntur.' For the literary quotations in V. see Introd. § 4.

6. **Bellona**] A Sabine goddess that presided over war, as the wife of Mars, whilst Furia (Gk Ἐρινύς) was personified by the ancients as being responsible for madness; cf. Seneca *Agam.* 82:

'Sanguinolenta Bellona manu,
Quaeque superbos urit Erinys.'

ib. **imperatore**] i.e. Constantius II, son of Constantine the Great, Emperor of the East 337–350, sole Emperor 350–361. This emperor seldom obtains a good word from any authorities. Christian writers were naturally not partial to one who leaned so constantly towards Arianism, and was such a bitter persecutor of the Nicene Faith, and do not scruple to call him by the names of Ahab, Pilate and Judas. Of his conduct Hilary of Poitiers speaks in very strong language (*adu. Constant.* 15); 'Grauissimam calamitatem ecclesiae Christi inflixit et fortasse neutiquam minorem quam aut Nero aut Decius; qui nihil prorsus aliud egit, quam ut orbem terrarum, pro quo Christus passus est, diabolo condonaret.' Some have supposed, however, that V. is referring to Valens A.D. 364–378 who was led by the Empress—already an Arian—to join the Arian faction, and was still further instigated by Eudoxius the Arian bishop of Constantinople. It is reported that he allowed Modestus, the prefect, to put 80 of the orthodox clergy on board a vessel which was burned and deserted by the crew who had orders to leave the passengers to their fate (Socr. *H. E.* IV 16). But as Ariminum is in V.'s mind, the reference to Constantius is much more likely.

7. **culmina**] 'heights,' 'summits'; here used of the chief persons of the Court, many of whom became Arians. Thus Arianism for a time became the chief power in the state.

11. **loco superiore**] 'as though holding a position of authority,' 'from a position of advantage.' The *tamquam* seems to shew that *de l. s.* is a conscious metaphor.

temeratae coniuges, depullatae uiduae, profanatae uirgines, dilacerata monasteria, disturbati clerici, uerberati leuitae, acti in exsilium sacerdotes, oppleta sanctis ergastula carceres metalla, quorum pars maxima, interdictis urbibus protrusi atque extorres inter deserta speluncas feras saxa, nuditate fame siti adfecti contriti et tabefacti sunt. Atque haec omnia numquid ullam aliam ob causam, nisi |

1 depullatae] pb^{2}jr. depulatae B. depopulatae ΓΔscb^{12}. 2 dilacerata monasteria BΓΔspjr. monasteria demolita cbk. 7 atque] BΓΔb^{3}jr. atqui sc.

1. **temeratae coniuges**] What were V.'s sources of information about these horrors? In addition to Ambrose *de Fide*, it is possible that he may have been familiar with Hilary's book against Constantius, which was circulated among the Catholics of the West soon after the death of C., as well as Jerome's *Dial. adu. Lucif.* (see ch. XIX) and Athanasius' *Ep. Encycl.* which was addressed to 'all bishops everywhere' in 341. In particular iii 6 of that letter is very similar to the above passage.

ib. **depullatae**] The care of widows was one of the special ministries of the early Church (see Acts vi 1, 1 Tim. v 16). 'Pullae uestes' were the black garments which they wore in sign of mourning for their husbands. It is easy to see how the rarer word became altered to 'depopulatae' (cf. Cyprian *Ep.* lix 1, 'matrimoniorum depopulator atque corruptor') but it is scarcely suitable as applied to 'uiduae.' Doubtless the exemplar of A and B, which were both copied from the same MS, preserved the true reading.

2. **disturb. clerici**] This means the breaking up of corporations of clergy, not the violence done to individual clerks. The clause is parallel to 'dilac. monasteria,' not to 'uerberati leuitae.' Clerici seems to be inclusive of leuitae and sacerdotes.

ib. **leuitae**] 'deacons' (cf. Sid. *Ep.* ix 2), while *sacerdotes* here may include both the higher orders. See p. 98 l. 4, where a similar phrase occurs.

3. **acti in exsilium**] After the Council of Milan A.D. 355 when Constantius declared that his own will should serve the Westerns for a canon as it had served the Syrian bishops, he proceeded to banish and imprison no less than 147 of the more prominent of the orthodox clergy. Cf. De Broglie III p. 263 and see note on *exsilia*, p. 181. 13.

ib. **ergastula**] 'workhouses' or 'places of correction' for offenders, chiefly slaves and debtors: cf. Cic. *Cl.* vii 21 and Livy II 23.

4. **metalla**] 'mines' or 'quarries,' used also as places of punishment. 'Damnare aliquem ad metalla' (Suet. *Calig.* xxvii). For the afflictions of Christians in this respect in the preceding century see Cyprian *Ep.* lxxvii.

5. **inter deserta**] cf. Hebr. xi 38. Similar atrocious cruelties were being perpetrated in Africa by the Arian Vandals at the time when V. was writing. Cf. Possidius *Vita S. August.* 28, Victor *De Pers. Vandal.* passim.

7. **haec omnia**] sc. acciderunt.

utique dum pro caelesti dogmate humanae superstitiones introducuntur, dum bene fundata antiquitas scelesta nouitate subruitur, dum superiorum instituta uiolantur, dum rescinduntur scita patrum, dum conuelluntur definita maiorum, dum sese intra sacratae atque incorruptae uetustatis castissimos limites profanae ac nouellae curiositatis libido non continet?

Cap. V.

(7) Sed forsitan odio nouitatis et amore uetustatis haec fingimus. Quisquis hoc aestimat, beato saltem credat Ambrosio, qui in secundo ad imperatorem Gratianum libro acerbitatem temporis ipse deplorans ait: *Sed iam satis*, inquit, *omnipotens deus, nostro exitio, nostroque sanguine confessorum neces, exsilia sacerdotum et nefas*

2 introducuntur] BΓscpbjr. intruduntur Δ. 13 exsilia] (exilia) cb^{s}jr (sic quoque loc. cit.) exitia BΓΔspb^{12}.

1. **dum**] Causal. V. uses several particles in a non-classical sense, e.g. antequam = quamdiu (p. 113 l. 8); necdum = nondum (p. 49 l. 10), etc.: see Introd. § 4. For dum = quia, cf. p. 39 l. 11, and p. 72 l. 11. 'Was the cause of all these evils anything else but the introduction of human superstitions to supplant heavenly doctrine?'

6. **curiositatis**] 'inquisitiveness,' a rare word used by Tertullian *adu. Haer.* 17 and *Apol.* 25. It occurs once more in this treatise, and then also in conjunction with libido, referring to the heresy of Apollinaris, p. 44 l. 11. πολυπραγμοσύνη is very frequent in the same sense.

V. *Let us observe the example set by martyrs and confessors, whom no persecution could prevent from clinging to the faith entrusted to their charge by their predecessors. On the contrary they sealed it, as St Ambrose says, with their blood.*

8. **forsitan**] = fortasse. V. always uses the indicative after forsitan in an imaginary objection. See Introd. § 4.

9. **aestimat**] 'thinks.' Several examples of this use are given in the *Thesaurus Linguae Lat.* s.v. Coster's conjecture 'existimat' is quite unnecessary.

10. **secundo libro**] i.e. *De Fide* II, ch. xvi, § 141. This work, in five books, was addressed to the young Emperor Gratian in 378 to confirm him in the Catholic Faith, in view of the Arian influence to which he might be subjected in his intercourse with Valens.

ib. **Gratianum**] Born A.D. 359 and succeeded his father Valentinian in 375 as co-emperor with Valens. In 378 he became master of the whole empire but was murdered at Lyons in 383.

13. **exsilia**] This is doubtless the word used by V., in spite of the reading of the MSS and Sichard. Not only is it the word

tantae impietatis eluimus. Satis claruit eos, qui uiolauerint fidem, tutos esse non posse. Item in tertio eiusdem operis libro: *Seruemus igitur,* inquit, *praecepta maiorum nec hereditaria signacula ausi rudis temeritate uiolemus. Librum signatum illum propheticum non seniores, non potestates, non angeli, non archangeli aperire ausi sunt; soli Christo explanandi eius praerogatiua seruata est. Librum sacerdotalem quis nostrum dissignare audeat, signatum a confessoribus et multorum iam martyrio consecratum? Quem qui dissignare coacti sunt, postea tamen damnata fraude signarunt; qui uiolare non ausi sunt, confessores et martyres exstiterunt. Quomodo fidem eorum possumus denegare, quorum uictoriam praedicamus?* Praedicamus plane,

4 rudis] BΓΔ (ausu rudis temeritatis) scbjr. rudi p. 7 explanandi] BΓscbjr. explananda Δ. *ib.* seruata est] BΓscbjr. est seruata Δ. 8 dissignare] Bpb³jr. designare Γ (dess) Δs. resignare cb¹². 10 dissignare] BΓpb³jr. designare Δ. resignare scb¹². 13 praedicamus plane] (iterum post 'Ambrosi') cb³j. omit. BΓΔspr.

found in the passage quoted, but it agrees with what V. has said before (p. 17 l. 3) 'acti in exsilium sacerdotes.' The mistake, which must go back to a very early date, may have arisen from the proximity of *exitio* in the previous line, aided doubtless by the word *neces* which immediately precedes. On the other hand, the error may be due to V. himself, as seems to be the case with 'dissignare' for 'resignare' (l. 8) which is the word used in both places (ll. 8 and 10) by Ambrose,

2. **tertio libro**] Ambr. *De Fide* bk III, ch. XV § 128.

4. **signacula**] 'seals,' cf. Apoc. v 2 (Vg.); 'Let us not, with the rashness of rude daring, break open the seals.'

ib. **librum propheticum**] Apoc. v 1–5, i.e. the prophecies of the Old Testament only made intelligible by their fulfilment in Christ (opened by Christ).

7. **librum sacerdotalem**] The book of Catholic Faith sealed by the blood of bishops, who thus, as it were, attested its truth. Which of us, Ambrose means, dares by innovation to alter the Catholic Faith when men have died to preserve it intact? cf. Tert. *adu. Marc.* iv 'euangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine suo signatum reliquerunt.'

8. **dissignare**] The fact that the MSS are unanimous in favour of dissignare and that Sichard found dissignare or designare in one, at least, of the two places seems to imply that the error is a very ancient one, and was possibly made by V. himself. See note on exsilia p. 18 l. 13.

10. **damnata fraude**] 'condemning the fraud to which they had been subjected'; i.e. in being compelled to sign the Arian formulary at Ariminum in A.D. 359 (see note p. 15 l. 3). They abjured their error and returned to the true faith on the death

inquam, o uenerande Ambrosi, laudantesque miramur. Nam quis ille tam demens est, qui eos, etsi adsequi non eualeat, non exoptet sequi, quos a defensione maiorum fidei nulla uis depulit, non minae, non blandimenta, non uita, non mors, non palatium, non satellites, non imperator, non imperium, non homines, non daemones? Quos, inquam, pro religiosae uetustatis tenacitate tanto munere dominus dignos iudicauit, ut per eos prostratas restauraret ecclesias, extinctos spiritaliter populos uiuificaret, deiectas sacerdotum coronas reponeret, nefarias illas nouellae impietatis non litteras sed lituras, infuso caelitus episcopis

2 etsi] BΔscbjr. et qui Γ. 3 maiorum fidei] BΓΔspjr. fidei maiorum cbk. 8 restauraret] BΓΔspb²jr. repararet c. 9 spiritaliter] BΓΔpjr. spiritales scb²k.

of the Emperor Constantius in 361.

2. **quis ille**] For this redundant use of *ille* cf. quiuis ille, p. 68 l. 1; quisquis ille, p. 32 l. 13; quicumque illi, p. 110 l. 4. With *quis* it is found five times in this treatise, see Index III under *ille*.

ib. **adsequi...sequi**] 'adsequi' differs from 'sequi' in implying the overtaking of the object pursued. This contrast is found even in classical Latin: Cic. *Off.* I 31. 110 'sequendo peruenire ad aliquem; nec quicquam sequi quod adsequi non queas.'

4. **non uita, non mors**] cf. Rom. viii 38.

5. **satellites**] Attendants upon distinguished persons; hence 'imperial guards.' Cf. Tac. *Ann.* II 45, Caesaris satellites; Liv. II 12, regii satellites.

8. **per eos**] Those who amidst all difficulties and the opposition of Arianism clung to the Catholic Faith were the men who prevented the utter extinction of the true Church through persecution and heresy. Amongst these were Athanasius, Hilary, and Eusebius of Vercellae, cf. Jer. *Dial. adu. Lucif.* xix; 'Tunc triumphatorem suum Athanasium Aegyptus excepit; tunc Hilarium de proelio reuertentem Galliarum ecclesia complexa est; tunc ad reditum Eusebii lugubres uestes Italia mutauit.'

10. **coronas**] Bishops themselves did not, as such, ever wear coronas. A corona was worn by the Arval Brothers, and of course there are passages in the O.T. (e.g. Zech. vi 11) where the corona is a sign of priestly dignity. *Thesaurus* (vol. IV, p. 984) gives examples of corona used by a metonymy in addressing the Pope and other bishops (Priscillian, Jerome, Paulinus of Nola, etc.). Here apparently V. is thinking of the promise in Apoc. ii 10, and means that they had lost their crowns by falling into heresy, and regained them by their penitence.

11. **lituras**] = maculas. The writings of heretics are mere '*blots*,' which can only be erased by the tears of repentance. For a similar play on these words see Ov. *Tristia* III 1. 15, 'Littera suffusas quod habet maculosa lituras.'

fidelium lacrimarum fonte, deleret, uniuersum postremo iam paene mundum saeua repentinae haereseos tempestate perculsum ad antiquam fidem a nouella perfidia, ad antiquam sanitatem a nouitatis uesania, ad antiquam lucem a nouitatis caecitate reuocaret.

(8) Sed in hac diuina quadam confessorum uirtute illud est etiam nobis uel maxime considerandum, quod tunc apud ipsam ecclesiae uetustatem non partis alicuius sed uniuersitatis ab his est suscepta defensio. Neque enim fas erat, ut tanti ac tales uiri unius aut duorum hominum errabundas sibique ipsis contrarias suspiciones tam magno molimine adsererent aut uero pro alicuius prouinciolae temeraria quadam conspiratione certarent, sed omnium sanctae ecclesiae sacerdotum, apostolicae et catholicae ueritatis heredum, decreta et definita sectantes maluerunt semetipsos quam uetustae uniuersitatis fidem prodere. Vnde et ad tantam gloriam peruenire meruerunt, ut non solum confessores, uerum etiam confessorum principes iure meritoque habeantur.

6 confessorum] BΓΔpb³jr. confessionum sc. 9 his] BΓΔr. hiis s. iis cbj. 15 heredum] BΓΔpb³jr. omit. sc. 16 uetustae] BΔscbjr. uetustate Γ.

1. **uniuersum...iam paene m.**] Cf. above p. 15 l. 2.

6. **confessorum**] This word differs in its application from 'martyres' in that it is used of those who suffered punishment or exile but not death for public confession of Christianity; cf. Cypr. *Ep.* xxxvii 1. This difference is first drawn out in the Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne, ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 2.

10. **unius aut duorum h.**] Is V. thinking of Denys of Alexandria? or by anticipation, of Agrippinus whose 'erroneous notions' on re-baptism form the subject of the next chapter?

15. **heredum**] The bishops, as representing the Church, are heirs of the apostolic and catholic truth. Cf. Tert. *De Praescript.* xxi; 'quod ecclesia ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo accepit.' Cf. 1 Cor. iv 1.

ib. **definita**] In particular, the decrees and definitions of the Council of Nicaea. The two words *decreta* and *definita* are nearly always used together by V., the first referring to practice, and the second to doctrine. V. maintained emphatically that not even a General Council had power to make a new doctrine or enjoin things not formerly held.

Cap. VI.

Magnum hoc igitur eorundem beatorum exemplum planeque diuinum et ueris quibusque catholicis indefessa meditatione recolendum, qui in modum septemplicis candelabri septena sancti spiritus luce radiati clarissimam posteris formulam praemonstrarunt, quonammodo deinceps per singula quaeque errorum uaniloquia sacratae uetustatis auctoritate profanae nouitatis conteratur audacia. (9) Neque hoc sane nouum; siquidem mos iste semper in ecclesia uiguit, ut, quo quisque foret religiosior, eo promptius nouellis adinuentionibus contraireret.

Exemplis talibus plena sunt omnia. Sed ne longum fiat, unum aliquod et hoc ab apostolica potissimum sede

2 quibusque] BΓscbjr. quibuscumque Δ. 4 radiati] BΓΔpjr. radiantis s. radiantes cb³k. 6 errorum] BΓΔscbjr. erroris p. 9 foret] BΓΔpb³jr. floreret sc (sed Cos. coniecit foret).

VI. *Antiquity has always been regarded as a guide in matters of practice. Agrippinus, a worthy bishop of Carthage, once propounded the doctrine that heretics should be re-baptized, but he was opposed by Pope Stephen on the ground that re-baptism was an innovation. The result was that it was rejected by the Catholic Church because it had no support in antiquity.*

3. **septemplicis**] Ex. xxv 31 et seq., Zech. iv. 2. The seven-branched candlestick has always been regarded in the Christian Church as symbolical of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit; cf. Apoc. i 12.

4. **radiati**] 'furnished with rays,' i.e. 'shining,' used as an epithet of *sol* by Lucretius, with whose work V. was familiar. See Introd. § 4.

5. **formulam**] 'example,' 'precedent.' See note on 'formam' p. 14 l. 10.

6. **per singula q.**] Rather an interesting use of *per*,—taking them one after another. Cf. Ex. xii 51, per turmas suas, and Tit. i 5, per ciuitates.

ib. **uaniloquia**] Cf. 2 Tim. ii 16.

8. **siquidem**] See note p. 15 l. 11.

10. **contrairet**] A rare compound only found in late Latin; cf. Jer. *Ep.* 84.

12. **apostolica sede**] i.e. Rome. The title was not confined to Rome. It was common to all sees which could claim an Apostle as their founder. Thus Augustine *De Doctr. Christ.* II § 13 says in referring to the canonical books of the Bible; 'In canonicis scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illae sint quae apostolicas sedes habere et epistulas meruerunt.' But the inhabitants of the West commonly understood Rome by the phrase 'sedes apostolica,' because that was the only apostolic church in the West.

sumemus, ut omnes luce clarius uideant beatorum apostolorum beata successio quanta ui semper, quanto studio, quanta contentione defenderit susceptae semel religionis integritatem. Quondam igitur uenerabilis memoriae Agrippinus Carthaginiensis episcopus primus omnium mortalium contra diuinum canonem, contra uniuersalis ecclesiae regulam, contra sensum omnium consacerdotum, contra morem atque instituta maiorum rebaptizandum

6 diuinum] ABΓΔcb³r. diuum spj.

2. **beata successio**] Abstract for concrete: 'the blessed successors.'

3. **contentione**] Codex Corbeiensis (A), written perhaps about 800, begins with this word. The first few pages are missing. For a description of this valuable ancient MS, and its affinity to B, see Introd. § 7 (ii).

5. **Agrippinus**] The predecessor of Donatus (*not* the 'Great') who was himself the predecessor of Cyprian in the see of Carthage. His exact dates are very uncertain, but he was bishop during the first quarter of the third century. He held the first Council of Carthage, consisting of seventy bishops, which decided in favour of the re-baptism of heretics. Some (Labbe *Conc.* volume I, p. 735) place this Council in 217; Benson as early as 213. Others (Harnack *Chronologie* vol. II, pp. 287 and 362) place it as late as 225. Both Augustine and V. call Agrippinus the *author* of the novelty of re-baptism. If this is right, it seems to point to a still earlier date (Morcelli *Africa Christ.* vol. II, p. 44 says 197), for Tertullian in his treatise *De Bapt.* XV speaks as if re-baptism were the accepted rule. See the discussion in Benson's *Cyprian*, pp. 335–342. Cyprian speaks, *Ep.* lxx 2, of Agrippinus in high terms and refers to the Council as being held 'sub Agrippino bonae memoriae uiro.'

6. **diuinum canonem**] i.e. the Holy Scripture regarded as a rule. See note p. 8 l. 1.

7. **consacerdotum**] 'fellow bishops'; see note p. 11 l. 7.

8. **rebaptizandum**] In the course of the year 255 Cyprian received a letter from a certain Magnus, who asked him if it was necessary to administer the baptism of the Church to those who re-entered it from the Novatian sect after having received baptism at the hands of Novatian heretics. On this point custom differed according to the country. At Carthage, ever since the Council under Agrippinus, repentant heretics had been subjected to this indispensable formality (Cypr. *Ep.* lxxiii 3). In Asia Minor the same principle had been adopted. In Rome, on the contrary, it was thought enough to lay hands only on heretics who returned to the Church. The contest between Stephen and the African bishops became very acute. Cyprian strove hard for re-baptism, and the matter was not settled until 314 (see note on 'Africani concilii,' p. 26 l. 9). It is clear that V., in order to suit his purpose, makes the history of the episode seem much simpler than it really was.

esse censebat. Quae praesumptio tantum mali inuexit, ut non solum haereticis omnibus formam sacrilegii, sed etiam quibusdam catholicis occasionem praebuerit erroris. Cum ergo undique ad nouitatem rei cuncti reclamarent, atque omnes quaquauersum sacerdotes pro suo quisque studio reniterentur, tunc beatae memoriae papa Stephanus, apostolicae sedis antistes, cum ceteris quidem conlegis suis, sed tamen prae ceteris restitit, dignum, ut opinor, existimans, si reliquos omnes tantum fidei deuotione uinceret, quantum loci auctoritate superabat. Denique in epistula, quae

9 uinceret] BΓΔscpbjr. uinciret A.

2. **formam**] 'example.' See note, p. 14 l. 10.

6. **papa**] A title of respect applied to bishops generally. (See Benson *Cyprian* p. 29.) It is to be noticed that though V. reserves it for the bishop of Rome (see p. 130 l. 11, p. 131 l. 2) and uses it of no other bishop, yet the fact that he adds 'apostolicae sedis antistes' shews that *papa* of itself did not necessarily mean to him 'the Pope.'

ib. **Stephanus**] Bishop of Rome A.D. 254–257. His episcopate is memorable for the fierce dispute that took place between him and the African and other bishops about this question of re-baptism. He seems to have acted throughout his short tenure of office with considerable independence, but was vehemently opposed by Cyprian. See Turmel 'Cyprien et la papauté pendant la controverse baptismale' (*Revue catholique des Eglises*, Dec. 1905), also J. Ernst 'Stellung der römischen Kirche zu Ketzerauffrage' (*Zeitsch. für Kathol. Theologie*, XXIX 2, 1905).

10. **loci auctoritate**] 'thinking it fitting that he should exceed all others as much in the devotion of his faith as he surpassed them in the authority of his position.' The bishops of Rome had long exercised an undefined authority in the Western Church, but 'it was upon the mind of Innocent I (402–417),' says Milman, 'that the vast conception of Rome's universal ecclesiastical supremacy first distinctly dawned.' He lost none of the many opportunities of maintaining and extending the authority of the Roman See, and his successor Zosimus (417–418), famous for his vacillating part in the Pelagian controversy, made an important step towards increasing this authority. His circular letter is the earliest instance of a document from Rome being proposed for general adoption as a standard of orthodoxy. Celestine (422–432) went beyond all precedents in the extension of the power of the see, when he assumed the right to depose Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople. V. in 434 recognizes a special degree of authority in the Roman See (cf. also p. 130 l. 10). His word *sanxit* here is enough to shew it. But it should be noticed that, while he speaks respectfully of popes, he never regards them as the ultimately deter-

tunc ad Africam missa est, his uerbis sanxit: *Nihil nouandum, nisi quod traditum est.* Intellegebat etenim uir sanctus et prudens nihil aliud rationem pietatis admittere, nisi ut omnia, qua fide a patribus suscepta forent, eadem fide filiis consignarentur, nosque religionem non qua uellemus ducere, sed potius qua illa duceret sequi oportere, idque esse proprium christianae modestiae et grauitatis, non sua posteris tradere, sed a maioribus accepta seruare. Quis ergo tunc uniuersi negotii exitus? Quis utique, nisi usitatus et solitus? Retenta est scilicet antiquitas, explosa nouitas.

1 est his] ABΓΔpb³jr. est et his s. est idem his c. 2 etenim] ABΓΔscb³jr. enim p.

mining factor in questions of doctrine, but only as upholding the essential principles of oecumenicity, antiquity and consent.

1. **missa est**] This letter, sent to Africa in the year 256, was apparently a reply to a letter from Cyprian, but it is now lost, happily perhaps for the credit of Stephen, judging by the terms in which Cyprian speaks of it, even though allowance be made for the fact that he held the opposite view. An important fragment of it, however, survives, quoted in one of Cyprian's letters: 'Si qui ergo a quacumque haeresi uenient ad uos, nihil innouetur nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illis imponatur in poenitentiam; cum ipsi haeretici proprie ad se uenientes non baptizent sed communicent tantum' (Cypr. *Ep. ad Pompeium*, lxxiv).

ib. **nihil nouandum**] This elliptical remark is certainly a strange one. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, vol. IV, Cyprian art. 43 note) takes it to mean; 'Nothing must be renewed except that which tradition teaches us ought to be renewed, i.e. not baptism but the imposition of hands': and in this he was followed by Bossuet (*Defensio Decl.* IX 3). Very probably the original letter was written in Greek, in which language such words as εἰ μή and πλήν lend themselves readily to the interpretation. There is no doubt, however, that both Cyprian who had Stephen's letter in his hands, and Christian Antiquity generally, placed upon it the same interpretation as V.

2. **uir sanct. et prudens**] This passage in praise of the attitude of Stephen is possibly intended by V. as a gentle hint to Sixtus III. Cyprian's error regarding re-baptism may be compared with Augustine's error regarding predestination. Stephen who withstood it was opposing an African bishop of great sanctity. Therefore he sets an example to the present occupant of the Apostolic See as to how he should conduct himself against the newest innovation likewise arising from an African bishop. This is, perhaps, the reason why V. attempts to conciliate Sixtus III by seeming to recognize the supremacy of the Roman See even in Stephen's day.

10. **explosa**] 'rejected.' Metaph. from hissing off the stage or hooting an unpopular actor.

(10) Sed forte tunc ipsi nouiciae adinuentioni patrocinia defuerunt. Immo uero tanta uis ingenii adfuit, tanta eloquentiae flumina, tantus adsertorum numerus, tanta ueri similitudo, tanta diuinae legis oracula, sed plane nouo ac malo more intellecta, ut mihi omnis illa conspiratio nullo modo destrui potuisse uideatur, nisi sola tanti moliminis causa, ipsa illa suscepta, ipsa defensa, ipsa laudata nouitatis professio destituisset. Quid postremo? Ipsius Africani concilii siue decreti quae uires? Donante deo nullae, sed uniuersa tamquam somnia, tamquam fabulae, tamquam superflua, abolita antiquata calcata sunt.

1 adinuentioni] ABΔscpb^{3}jr. adinuentione Γ. 6 sola t. m. causa] ABΓΔspbjr. solam t. m. causam ck et alii. 8 quid] ABΓΔsbjr. quod p. omit. c. 10 tamq. somnia tamq. fabulae] ABΓΔscpbjr. tamq. fab. tamq. somnia k et alii.

Used twice more by V., p. 64 l. 7 and p. 128 l. 13.

4. **legis oracula**] 'such scriptural evidence.' See note p. 7 l. 10 and also p. 83 l. 6.

6. **moliminis causa**] 'had not the sole reason for their great effort, namely the very novelty of his assertion, championed, defended and praised though that assertion had been, failed to support them.' This sentence is somewhat ambiguous, but V. clearly means that the opinion, though so stoutly championed, broke down because it was novel. Coster, Klüpfel, Hertzog and others read 'solam t. m. causam' as object to 'destituisset' but without MS authority: destituere = deficere, cf. Lucan *Phars.* v 298.

8. **quid**] Most early editors read: 'quid postremo ipsius Africani concilii siue decreti quae uires?' So also Jülicher, who thinks with Coster that the error lies in *quid*. The above punctuation solves the difficulty without alteration of the actual words of the MSS.

9. **Afr cani concilii**] i.e., apparently, the Council under Cyprian in 256. This was the third of three Councils held at Carthage by him which reaffirmed the necessity of rebaptizing heretics. See Cyprian's letters lxix–lxxv. Or V. may even be referring to the original Council under Agrippinus (see note p. 23 l. 5). The controversy was set at rest by the decision of the Council of Arles A.D. 314, which ordered (canon 8) that if baptism had been administered in the name of the Trinity, converts should be admitted into the Church simply by the imposition of hands that they might receive the Holy Ghost. Cf. Hooker bk v 62. 5 foll.

10. **uniuersa**] a somewhat strange usage but apparently rather more emphatic than *omnia*; 'the whole affair.' Cf. p. 16 l. 8.

11. **antiquata**] Possibly a kind of play on 'nouitatis professio.'

ib. **calcata sunt**] 'trodden under foot.' Cf. Jerome *Dial. adu. Lucif.* xiii 'Denique illi ipsi

(11) Et o rerum mira conuersio! Auctores eiusdem opinionis catholici, consectatores uero haeretici iudicantur; absoluuntur magistri, condemnantur discipuli, conscriptores librorum *filii regni* erunt, adsertores uero gehenna suscipiet. Nam quis ille tam demens est, qui illud sanctorum omnium et episcoporum et martyrum lumen, beatissimum Cyprianum, cum ceteris conlegis suis in aeternum dubitet regnaturum esse cum Christo? Aut quis tam contra sacrilegus, qui Donatistas et ceteras pestes, quae illius auctoritate concilii rebaptizare se iactitant, in sempiternum neget arsuros esse cum diabolo?

CAP. VII.

Quod quidem mihi diuinitus uidetur promulgatum esse iudicium propter eorum maxime fraudulentiam, qui, cum

8 tam contra] Asb^{3}jr. tam (omit. contra) BΓΔpb^{12}. contra tam ck. 10 concilii] ΓΔcbjr. consilii As. consilia B. *ib.* iactitant] ABΓscbjr. iactitant et Δ.

episcopi qui rebaptizandos haereticos cum eo statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem reuoluti nouum emisere decretum.'

1. **conuersio**] The 'change of view' from the days when the Synod was held at Carthage under Cyprian to the days of the Synod at Arles.

ib. **auctores**] Those who advocated re-baptism at first, such as Agrippinus and Cyprian, remained in communion with those who did not hold those views (see Aug. *De Bapt.* III 2), but those who afterwards embraced that doctrine, like the Donatists, were judged to be heretics.

4. **filii regni**] Matt. xiii 38.

5. **quis ille**] Cf. p. 20, l. 2, and note.

7. **dubitet**] with acc. and infin. instead of quin with subj.; cf. p. 90 l. 2 and p. 108 l. 9, and Introd. § 4.

9. **Donatistas**] For their views on re-baptism see Aug. *contra Don.* III, VI and VII.

ib. **illius concilii**] i.e. the Council of Carthage: 'who boast that they re-baptize on the authority of that Council' i.e. 'who claim the authority of that Council for re-baptism.'

11. **diabolo**] See Hooker's reference to this passage, *Eccl. Polity* v 62. 9. For other mention of diabolus in this treatise see Index III.

VII. *Heretics cunningly quote obscure passages in ancient writers in support of their own views. To do this is to behave as Ham did to Noah. Moreover, against those who would lead us from the 'grace of Christ to another Gospel which is not another,' St Paul carefully warns us.*

13. **iudicium**] V. says that the question of re-baptism and the Church's judgment regarding it seems to have been divinely sent

sub alieno nomine haeresim concinnare machinentur, captant plerumque ueteris cuiuspiam uiri scripta paulo inuolutius edita, quae pro ipsa sui obscuritate dogmati suo quasi congruant, ut illud nescio quid, quodcumque proferunt, neque primi neque soli sentire uideantur. Quorum ego nequitiam duplici odio dignam iudico, uel eo quod haereseos uenenum propinare aliis non extimescunt, uel eo etiam, quod sancti cuiusque uiri memoriam tamquam sopitos iam cineres profana manu uentilant, et quae silentio sepeliri oportebat, rediuiua opinione diffamant, sequentes omnino uestigia auctoris sui Cham, qui nuditatem ueneran-di Noë non modo operire neglexit, uerum quoque inriden-dam ceteris enuntiauit. Vnde tantam laesae pietatis meruit offensam, ut etiam posteri ipsius peccati sui male-

7 extimescunt] ABΓΔpr. pertimescunt scbj.

as a warning to all heretics who try to support their opinions by some one or two ancient writers.

1. **concinnare**] They strive to 'deck out' or 'dress up' their heretical views in some one else's name, like the Donatists (see p. 27 l. 9), who appealed to the opinion of Cyprian and his colleagues.

2. **captant**] 'try to seize upon.'

3. **ipsa sui ob.**] 'because of their very obscurity.' Obscure writings can be pressed to mean anything and support any views. For sui = sua see p. 8 l. 4 n.

6. **uel...uel**] = et...et. See below p. 86 l. 14.

7. **propinare**] The usual classical meaning of this word was 'to drink a person's health.' Here it is 'to give to drink': cf. Mart. x 49. 3, 'propinas modo conditum Sabinum'; and Pliny XXVIII 1. 2 § 7, 'aquam comitialibus morbis propinare.'

8. **sancti cuiusque**] Here *quisque* seems to be used in the sense of *aliquis*, not like 'necessaria quaeque' above (p. 5 l. 10).

10. **diffamant**] 'they defame them by recalling their views to life.' V. means that they blow into a flame again the erroneous or ambiguous opinions of some ancient Father and thus claim good authority for their own heretical doctrine. For diffamare = to defame, see Rönsch *Itala und Vulgata* p. 190. Possibly V. is passing in thought from the Donatists to the followers of Augustine. To appeal to the writings of one who has died in peace with the Church in support of the doctrine of Predestination is like the impiety of Ham, who not only did not conceal the nakedness of his father but even exposed him to mockery.

11. **Cham**] Gen. ix 21 et seq.

14. **posteri**] Canaan, the son of Ham and the father of the Canaanites, was bound by Ham's curse. His descendants were given up to idolatry and became the enemies of the Israelites, so that Abraham forbad Isaac to take a wife from the daughters of Canaan.

dictis obligarentur, beatis illis fratribus multum longeque dissimilis, qui nuditatem ipsam reuerendi patris neque suis temerare oculis neque alienis patere uoluerunt, sed auersi, ut scribitur, texerunt eum,—quod est erratum sancti uiri nec adprobasse nec prodidisse,—atque idcirco beata in posteros benedictione donati sunt. Sed ad propositum redeamus.

(12) Magno igitur metu nobis inmutatae fidei ac temeratae religionis piaculum pertimescendum est, a quo nos non solum constitutionis ecclesiasticae disciplina sed etiam censurae apostolicae deterret auctoritas. Scitum etenim cunctis est, quam grauiter, quam seuere, quam uehementer inuehatur in quosdam beatus apostolus Paulus, qui mira leuitate nimium *cito translati* fuerant *ab eo, qui* eos *uocauerat in gratiam Christi, in aliud euangelium, quod non*

1 multum longeque] ABΓΔb³jr. longeque (omit. multum) scp (longaeque). 2 dissimilis] ABΓΔpb³jr. dissimilibus sc. 11 censurae] conieci. censura ABΓΔ et editiones omnes. *ib.* auctoritas] ABΓΔ. auctoritatis editiones omnes. 12 etenim] ABΓscpjr. enim Δb³. 15 in aliud] AΔscbjr. in alium BΓ.

2. **dissimilis**] Sichard and Coster read 'beatis illis fratribus longeque dissimilibus'; abl. abs., 'his brothers being blessed and vastly different.'

4. **sancti uiri**] If we are right, as seems likely, in seeing here an indirect allusion to Augustine, then, V. means that the error of Noah is like the error of Augustine, an isolated lapse in an otherwise holy man.

6. **propositum**] 'purpose,' 'matter in hand'; unlike the use on p. 4 l. 4 where it seems to refer to monastic resolution.

11. **censurae**] All editors read 'censura apostolicae deterret auctoritatis.' The MSS have 'censura apostolicae d. auctoritas.' In view of the frequent confusion of -a and -ae in these codices, the error seems to lie rather in *censura*: cf. p. 68 l. 12, where all the MSS have 'diuina' for 'diuinae'; also p. 81 l. 13, where all recent editors alter 'diuina' of the MSS to 'diuinae'; also p. 92 l. 11, where ABΓ and s read 'ecclesia' and Δ followed by one or two editors reads 'ecclesiae'; and also p. 124 l. 8, where AΓΔ and s have 'doctrinae' while B alone reads 'doctrina' which is correct.

14. **cito translati**] Gal. i 6, 7 (Vg.). The pluperf. formed with fuerant for erant is common in Silver Latin.

15. **in aliud euangel.**] εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, i.e. 'unto a different Gospel which is not another.' Neither the Latin nor the English A.V. expresses this. St Paul means: There cannot be two gospels; and as it is not the same, it is no gospel at all.

est aliud ; qui *coaceruarant sibi magistros ad sua desideria, a ueritate quidem auditum auertentes, conuersi* uero *ad fabulas, habentes damnationem, quod primam fidem inritam* fecissent ; quos deceperant hi, de quibus ad Romanos fratres scribit idem apostolus : *Rogo autem uos, fratres, ut obseruetis eos qui dissensiones et offendicula praeter doctrinam, quam* ipsi *didicistis, faciunt, et declinate ab illis. Huiusmodi enim Christo domino nostro non seruiunt, sed suo uentri ; et per dulces sermones et benedictiones seducunt corda innocentium ; qui* intrant per *domos et captiuas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis, quae ducuntur uariis desideriis, semper discentes et ad scientiam ueritatis numquam peruenientes ; uaniloqui et seductores, qui uniuersas domos subuertunt, docentes quae non oportet turpis lucri gratia ; homines corrupti mente, reprobi circa fidem, superbi et nihil scientes sed languentes circa quaestiones et pugnas uerborum, qui ueritate priuati sunt, existimantes quaestum esse pietatem. Simul autem et otiosi discunt circumire domos, non solum autem otiosi sed et uerbosi*

3 quod] ABΓΔcpb^{3}jr. quid s. 4 hi] AΓΔpjr. hii Bs. ii cb^3. 8 nostro non] ΓΔ (sic quoque Vg.). non (omit. nostro) Ascbjr. nostro (omit. non) B. 11 quae] ABΓscbjr. qui Δ.

1. **qui coaceruarant**] 2 Tim. iv 3, 4. (Vg.)

3. **habentes damnationem**] 1 Tim. v 12. (Vg.)

5. **rogo autem uos**] Rom. xvi 17, 18. So Vg. except that it has 'quam uos d.' for 'quam ipsi d.' O.L. differs considerably, e.g. for 'ut obseruetis eos' it has 'diligenter obseruate.' It is clear, therefore, that 'nostro non' of Γ and Δ is the right reading (see Vg., ed. Wordsworth and White). It seems as if there was some illegibility in the exemplar of the accurate MSS A and B which caused A to detect only 'non' and B only 'nostro,' whereas, doubtless, it contained abbreviations of both these words.

10. **qui intrant**] 2 Tim. iii 6, 7. The Vg. reads: 'qui penetrant domos,' etc., and in the next line places 'numquam' before 'ad scientiam.'

12. **uaniloqui**] Titus i 10, 11 (Vg.).

14. **homines corrupti**] 2 Tim. iii 8. (Vg.)

15. **superbi**] 1 Tim. vi 4, 5. So Vg. except that it has the singular: superbus...sciens...languens, and existimantium for existimantes. O.L. differs considerably, e.g. 'inflatus' for 'superbus' and 'aegrotat' for 'languens.'

17. **simul autem**] 1 Tim. v 13. So Vg., but of course fem. otiosae, uerbosae, curiosae.

et curiosi, loquentes quae non oportet ; qui *bonam conscientiam repellentes circa fidem naufragauerunt ;* quorum *profana uaniloquia multum proficiunt ad impietatem, et sermo eorum ut cancer serpit.* Bene autem, quod de his item scribitur: *sed ultra non proficient ; insipientia enim eorum manifesta erit omnibus, sicut et illorum fuit.*

CAP. VIII.

Cum ergo tales quidam circumeuntes prouincias et ciuitates atque errores uenalicios circumferendo etiam ad Galatas deuenissent, cumque his auditis Galatae nausea quadam ueritatis adfecti apostolicae catholicaeque doctrinae manna reuomentes haereticae nouitatis sordibus oblectarentur, ita sese apostolicae potestatis exseruit auctoritas, ut summa cum seueritate decerneret: *Sed licet nos,* inquit, *aut angelus de caelo euangelizet uobis, praeterquam quod euangelizauimus uobis, anathema sit.* Quid est quod ait:

1 oportet] Γ (secunda manu) Δscbjr. oportent ABΓ (prima manu). 3 uaniloquia] BΓΔscbjr. uaniloqua A. 5 proficient] ABΓΔbr (sic quoque Vg.). proficiunt scj. 9 nausea] scbjr. nausia ABΓΔ. 11 reuomentes] ABΓΔcpbjr. remouentes s Gallandi. 12 exseruit] ABΓΔpbjr. exercuit sc (sed Cos. coni. exseruit). 13 licet nos] ABΓΔbr (sic quoque Vg.). licet aut nos scpj.

1. **bonam conscientiam**] 1 Tim. i 19. (Vg.)

2. **profana uaniloquia**] 2 Tim. ii 16, 17. Vg. reads: profana autem *et* uaniloquia *deuita*: multum enim profici*unt*, etc., same as V.

5. **sed ultra**] 2 Tim. iii 9 (Vg.).

VIII. *An exposition and special application to heretics of St Paul's words to the Galatians* (Gal. i 8, 9) *when they were led astray by false teachers.*

8. **errores uenalicios**] The Judaizers who 'bewitched' the Galatians are likened to travelling pedlars who carry about their wares 'for sale,' making an attractive display of their pernicious errors.

ib. **circumferendo**] Notice the gradual breaking down of the gerund. This participial use is not infrequent in V.; cf. p. 35 l. 14 repetendo, and p. 93 l. 13 repudiandis, etc. See Rönsch *Itala und Vulgata* p. 432.

11. **reuomentes**] As the Israelites in the wilderness sighed for forbidden meats, saying: 'anima nostra iam nauseat super cibo isto leuissimo.' Num. xxi 5 (Vg.).

13. **sed licet**] Gal. i 8 (Vg.).

sed licet nos? Cur non potius; sed licet ego? Hoc est; etiamsi Petrus, etiamsi Andreas, etiamsi Iohannes, etiamsi postremo omnis apostolorum chorus *euangelizet uobis praeterquam quod euangelizauimus, anathema sit.* Tremenda districtio, propter adserendam primae fidei tenacitatem nec sibi nec ceteris coapostolis pepercisse. Parum est. Etiamsi *angelus*, inquit, *de caelo euangelizet uobis, praeterquam quod euangelizauimus, anathema sit.* Non suffecerat ad custodiam traditae semel fidei, humanae condicionis commemorasse naturam, nisi angelicam quoque excellentiam comprehendisset. *Licet nos*, inquit, *aut angelus de caelo.* Non quia sancti caelestesque angeli peccare iam possint, sed hoc est quod dicit; si etiam, inquit, fiat quod non potest fieri, quisquis

5 districtio] ABΔscbjr. distinctio Γ. 6 pepercisse] ABΔscbjr. pepercisti Γ. 9 semel fidei] ABΔscbjr. fidei semel Γ. 13 non potest fieri] ABΓscbjr. fieri non potest Δ. *ib.* quisquis] scbjr. quisque ABΓΔ.

1. **licet nos**] St Paul never uses the plural when speaking of himself alone. Lightfoot (ad loc.) thinks that he refers here, not to the apostles generally, as V. supposes, but to those who had been his colleagues in preaching to the Galatians, i.e. Silas and Timothy.

2. **Petrus**] It is noticeable that V. here cuts away the ground on which in modern days the infallibility of the Church of Rome is built. 'Even if *Peter*... preach unto you anything other than what we have preached unto you, let him be anathema.'

3. **apostolorum chorus**] Perhaps a reminiscence of Cyprian's treatise 'De Mortalitate' written A.D. 252: 'apostolorum gloriosus chorus' (ch. xxvi). Cf. also the hymn 'Te Deum,' where the same phrase is found.

5. **districtio**] This word, used again by V., p. 100 l. 1, does not seem to be used by any other writer in the sense of 'severity,' though the adj. 'districtus' several times bears the meaning of 'severe,' e.g. Tac. *Ann.* IV 36, districtior accusator; Val. Max. II 9. 6, districta censura.

ib. **primae fidei**] Cf. 1 Tim. v 12.

6. **parum est**] Early editors omit the full stop after 'pepercisse' and join 'parum est' with the preceding sentence.

9. **traditae semel fidei**] Cf. Jude 3 (Vg.) 'semel traditae sanctis fidei.'

ib. **humanae condicionis**] A frequent use of condicio; there is a contrast to 'angelicam excellentiam,' viz. the *lower* state of human beings, as opposed to 'the *superior state* of angels.'

12. **iam possint**] Notice the force of 'iam.' *Now* they cannot sin, although once even angels fell and kept not their first estate. Jude 6.

13. **quisquis**] Perhaps one should hesitate to alter 'quisque' of the MSS, as it was frequently

ille traditam semel fidem mutare temptauerit, anathema sit.

(13) Sed haec forsitan perfunctorie praelocutus est, et humano potius effudit impetu, quam diuina ratione decreuit. Absit. Sequitur enim, et hoc ipsum ingenti molimine iteratae insinuationis inculcat: *sicut praediximus*, inquit, *et nunc iterum dico; si quis uobis euangelizauerit praeterquam quod accepistis, anathema sit.* Non dixit; si quis uobis adnuntiauerit, praeterquam quod accepistis, benedictus sit laudetur recipiatur, sed, *anathema sit*, inquit, id est separatus segregatus exclusus; ne unius ouis dirum contagium innoxium gregem Christi uenenata permixtione contaminet.

6 sicut...dico] ABΓΔscpjr. omit. omnino b^3k.

used in late Latin for 'quisquis.' For this pleonastic 'ille' see p. 20 l. 2.

3. **forsitan**] followed by indic., see p. 18 l. 8.

ib. **perfunctorie**] 'without weighing his words,' 'carelessly' (late Latin): used again by V. p. 118 l. 1.

6. **insinuationis**] 'Insinuare' in late Latin does not imply an indirect mode of informing (see Rönsch *Itala u. Vulgata* p. 387; Goelzer *Latinité de S. Jérôme* p. 276). 'Stamps it in with all the strength of repeated assertion.'

ib. **sicut praediximus**] Gal. i 9. So Vg. except that it reads here 'praeter *id* quod accepistis' though in the former verse it agrees with V.

10. **benedictus**] Carrying on the former idea (p. 28 l. 10 note) this is perhaps a reference to the general esteem in which Augustine was held, as summed up in the letter of Celestine to the bishops of Gaul (*Ep.* xxi), in which he defended Augustine as a teacher, and as a man who had lived a holy life. At the same time V. would certainly not go so far as to say that Augustine should be anathematized. See Introd. § 2.

ib. **anathema**] The explanation of this word which V. adds is interesting. It meant to him primarily excommunication from the Catholic Church, separation from the number of the faithful, not necessarily 'eternal death,' though perhaps he would have regarded the latter as a natural result of the former.

CAP. IX.

Sed forsitan Galatis tantum ista praecepta sunt. Ergo et illa solis Galatis imperata sunt quae in eiusdem epistulae sequentibus commemorantur, qualia sunt haec: *Si uiuimus spiritu, spiritu et ambulemus. Non efficiamur inanis gloriae cupidi, inuicem prouocantes, inuicem inuidentes*, et reliqua. Quod si absurdum est, et omnibus ex aequo imperata sunt, restat ut sicut haec morum mandata, ita etiam illa quae de fide cauta sunt, omnes pari modo comprehendant, (14) et sicut nemini licet inuicem prouocare aut inuidere inuicem, ita nemini liceat praeter id quod ecclesia catholica usquequaque euangelizat accipere.

Aut forsitan tunc iubebatur, si quis adnuntiasset praeterquam quod adnuntiatum fuerat, anathemare, nunc uero iam non iubetur. Ergo et illud, quod item ibi ait: *Dico autem: spiritu ambulate et desiderium carnis non*

1 tantum ista] ABΓΔspjr. ista tantum cb. 2 solis Galatis] ABΔscbjr. Galatis solis Γ. 4 spiritu et] ABΓscbjr (sic quoque Vg.). spiritu Δ (sic quoque uers. ant.). *ib.* inanis] BΓΔscbjr. inanes A. 13 anathemare] ABΓr. anathematizare Γ (superscript.). anathema esse Δ. anathemari scpj. anathematizari c (edd. rec.) b.

IX. *If this warning* (Gal. i 8) *be thought to apply to the Galatians only, then the same might be said of other parts of St Paul's spiritual advice. As this supposition is clearly absurd, then the other also must be of universal and permanent application.*

3. **si uiuimus**] Gal. v 25, 26. Vg. as '*et*' shews.

7. **morum mandata**] 'the commands relating to morals.'

8. **quae de fide**] 'warnings about matters of faith,' i.e. doctrine.

11. **usquequaque**] The first part of this ch. has reference to the rule 'ubique'; the next (forsitan tunc) to the rule 'semper.'

13. **anathemare**] 'or perhaps it was then ordered to anathematize anyone who, etc.' There is no reason for rejecting the active given by the three oldest MSS, though it is found in no early edition. There were two forms of this word current in the first four centuries; *anathemare*, which was preferred by Augustine (though he uses the other form as well), and *anathematizare* (*ἀναθεματίζειν*) favoured by Jerome. The use of the latter form in the Vg. would account for the tendency to alter '*anathemare*' in the middle ages.

15. **dico autem**] Gal. v 16 (Vg.).

perficietis, tunc tantum iubebatur, modo uero iam non iubetur. Quodsi impium pariter et perniciosum est ita credere, necessario sequitur, ut, sicut haec cunctis aetatibus obseruanda sunt, ita illa quoque, quae de non mutanda fide sancta sunt, cunctis aetatibus imperata sint.

Adnuntiare ergo aliquid Christianis catholicis praeter id quod acceperunt, numquam licuit, nusquam licet, numquam licebit; et anathemare eos qui adnuntiant aliquid praeterquam quod semel acceptum est, numquam non oportuit, nusquam non oportet, numquam non oportebit. Quae cum ita sint, estne aliquis uel tantae audaciae qui praeter id quod apud ecclesiam adnuntiatum est, adnuntiet, uel tantae leuitatis qui praeter id quod ab ecclesia accepit, accipiat? Clamat et repetendo clamat et omnibus et semper et ubique per litteras suas clamat ille, ille *uas electionis*, ille *magister gentium*, ille apostolorum tuba, ille terrarum praeco, ille caelorum conscius, ut si quis

5 sancta] ABΓΔspjr. sancita Δ (marg.) cbk. *ib.* imperata sint] ABΔscbjr. imperata sunt Γ. 7 licet, numquam] ABΓcbjr. omittit Δ. licet. Num s. 8 anathemare] ABΓsjr. anathematizare Γ (superscr.) Δcb³. *ib.* adnuntiant] ABΓΔbjr. adnuntient sc. 14 ecclesia] ABΓΔ (sed omittit *ab*) scbjr. ecclesiis p. *ib.* clamat et repetendo] ABpbjr. clamet et rep. sc. clamans rep. Δ. clamantes rep. Γ. *ib.* clamat et omnibus...clamat] ABΓΔpbjr. clamet et omn....clamet sc.

8. **adnuntiant**] 'to anathematize those who preach anything other than what has once been received, always was a duty, everywhere is a duty, and always will be a duty.'

14. **repetendo**] On this participial use of the gerund see p. 31 l. 8. Observe the Vincentian formula, 'omnibus et s. et ubique.'

16. **uas electionis**] The Latin translation of σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς, Acts ix 15, which became a favourite epithet among early Christians for St Paul. Cf. the familiar hymn:

Iste uas electionis
Vires omnes rationis
Humanae transgreditur.
Super choros angelorum
Raptus, caeli secretorum
Doctrinis imbuitur, etc.

ib. **magister gentium**] 2 Tim. i 11 (Vg.).

ib. **ille...tuba**] For the concord ille uas, ille tuba, cf. in Ambrose's hymns (Biraghi's numbering); vii 31, electa gentium caput; xi 15, ipse petra ecclesiae; xii 30, Aurora totus prodeat.

17. **caelorum conscius**] 'eye-witness of the Heavens,' i.e. one

nouum dogma adnuntiauerit, anathemetur. Et contra reclamant *ranae* quaedam et *scinifes* et *muscae morituraе*, quales sunt Pelagiani, et hoc catholicis: Nobis, inquiunt, auctoribus, nobis principibus, nobis expositoribus, damnate quae tenebatis, tenete quae damnabatis, reicite antiquam fidem, paterna instituta, maiorum deposita, et recipite—quaenam illa tandem? Horreo dicere; sunt enim tam superba, ut mihi non modo adfirmari sed ne refelli quidem sine aliquo piaculo posse uideantur.

1 anathemetur] ABΓsjr. anathematizetur Δcb. 2 scinifes] AΔ. sinifes Γ. senifes B. cyniphes omnes editores.

who was caught up to Heaven; a reference to 2 Cor. xii 2–4; cf. the hymn above quoted: 'super choros angelorum raptus.'

2. **ranae**] An allusion, of course, to the plagues of Egypt (Ex. viii 6). Heretics such as the Pelagians are as numerous and as pestilent as the frogs, lice and flies that were sent to trouble Pharaoh.

ib. **scinifes**] or sciniphes. The LXX in describing the plague of '*lice*' (Ex. viii 16) has the form σκνῖφες, from which, apparently, the word 'cyniphes' of the O. Latin versions was derived by false analogy, as if from κύων. But V. in the Pentateuch uses the Vg. (see Introd. § 5), which reads 'sciniphes' in this passage, of which 'scinifes' is merely another form. Judging by the MS evidence, this is the word which V. used here.

ib. **muscae morituraе**] Ex. viii 21, 'dying flies,' referring, doubtless, to the short-lived influence of heretics. There is, however, a further reference to Eccles. x 1,—a text which became very famous in the Donatist controversy. Both the Vg. and the O.L. there, as given by Sabatier, have 'muscae morientes'; but Sabatier's quotations from Jerome, Augustine, Optatus, Fulgentius and Gelasius have 'muscae morituraе.'

3. **Pelagiani**] See note on Pelagius p. 9 l. 2. Why does V. here single out the Pelagians as an instance of heretics particularly deserving of condemnation? Probably because he did not wish his opposition to Predestinarianism to lead people to suppose that he shared the views which drove Augustine into the doctrine which seemed to V. so dangerous. He naturally desired to repudiate sympathy with a heretic who, though recent, had already been disqualified and condemned.

9. **piaculum**] here, 'that which required expiation' i.e. 'sin,' 'guilt,' cf. Livy v 52, 'piaculum committere,' see also p. 29 l. 9. The original meaning was, of course, a propitiatory sacrifice; so Hor. *Od.* i 28. 34 'teque piacula nulla resoluent.'

Cap. X.

(15) Sed dicet aliquis: Cur ergo persaepe diuinitus sinuntur excellentes quaedam personae in ecclesia constitutae res nouas catholicis adnuntiare? Recta interrogatio et digna quae diligentius atque uberius pertractetur; cui tamen non ingenio proprio, sed diuinae legis auctoritate, ecclesiastici magisterii documento, satisfaciendum est. Audiamus ergo sanctum Moysen, et ipse nos doceat, cur docti uiri et qui propter scientiae gratiam ab apostolo etiam prophetae nuncupantur, proferre interdum permittantur noua dogmata, quae uetus testamentum allegorico sermone deos alienos adpellare consueuit, eo quod scilicet ita ab haereticis ipsorum opiniones, sicut a gentilibus dii sui, obseruentur. Scribit ergo in Deuteronomio beatus Moyses:

1 dicet] ABscbjr. dicit ΓΔ. 6 magisterii] ABΓbjr. magistru (sic) Δ. magistri sc. 12 gentilibus] ABΓΔscpjr. gentibus b.

X. *Why are notable men, who fall into strange doctrines, permitted by God to remain and be a danger to the Church, instead of being at once removed by Him? In the words of Moses, God is testing us to see whether we love Him or not.*

5. **ingenio proprio**] See note p. 5 l. 3.

ib. **diuinae legis**] See p. 7 l. 10, where the use of this phrase for the 'Holy Scriptures' is discussed.

6. **documento**] Some have taken this as an asyndeton with 'auctoritate,' e.g. Brunetière et de Labriolle translate; 'mais d'après l'autorité de la loi divine et l'enseignement du magistère de l'Église.' It is more likely, however, that 'documento' is in *apposition* to 'auctoritate,' which is the pattern of the teaching of the Church,' i.e. the teaching of the Church and that of the Bible are the same.

9. **prophetae**] St Paul in 1 Cor. xiii 2; xiv 37. St Chrysostom distinguishes prophets from teachers by this, that he who prophesies utters everything from the Spirit, while he who teaches sometimes discourses from his own understanding. For the function of the prophet see 1 Cor. xiv 3 (Vg.), 'qui autem prophetat, loquitur aedificationem et exhortationem et consolationem.'

11. **deos alienos**] V. already has in view his quot. from Deut. xiii 2.

12. **dii sui**] There seems to be a tendency in later Latin to use *suus* loosely where classical Latin would require the demonstrative rather than the reflexive pronoun. Cf. *discipuli sui* just below, and see p. 40 l. 8, p. 69 l. 12, p. 74 l. 2, p. 131 l. 1.

13. **obseruentur**] 'are worshipped.' This word is used as syn. with 'ueneror' even in Cicero. Cf. *Ad Fam.* v 8. 4.

Si surrexerit, inquit, *in medio tui propheta aut qui somnium uidisse se dicat;*—id est, magister in ecclesia constitutus, quem discipuli uel auditores sui ex aliqua reuelatione docere arbitrentur; quid deinde? *et praedixerit,* inquit, *signum atque portentum, et euenerit quod locutus est;*—magnus profecto nescio quis significatur magister et tantae scientiae, qui sectatoribus propriis non solum quae humana sunt nosse, uerum etiam quae supra hominem sunt praenoscere posse uideatur, quales fere discipuli sui iactitant fuisse Valentinum, Donatum, Photinum, Apollinarem, ceterosque eiusmodi,—quid postea? *et dixerit,* inquit, *tibi: eamus et sequamur deos alienos, quos ignoras, et seruiamus eis,*—qui sunt *dei alieni,* nisi errores extranei? *quos ignorabas,* id est, noui et inauditi; *et seruiamus eis,* id est, credamus eis, sequamur eos;—quid ad extremum? *non audies,* inquit, *uerba prophetae illius aut somniatoris.* Et quare, oro te, a deo non prohibetur doceri quod a deo prohibetur audiri?

1 aut qui] ABΓΔcpbr (sic quoque Vg.). aut quis sj. 6 significatur] ABΔscpjr. signatur Γb³.

1. **si surrexerit**] Deut. xiii 1–3. *In medio tui, atque portentum, ignoras, palam fiat, diligatis, an non* are definitely Vg. renderings. See Introd. § 5.

2. **magister...constitutus**]Here and three lines later (magnus... nescio quis significatur magister) there is thought by some to be a veiled reference to Augustine. See p. 28 l. 10 note.

10. **Valentinum**] This most important of Gnostic teachers was born in Egypt about the year 85. He was said to have been the hearer of Theodas who was himself, as his followers asserted, a disciple of the apostle Paul (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII 17). At Alexandria he received his initiation into Greek science. From 135 onwards he sojourned at Rome and there took place his apostasy from the Church. He died somewhere between A.D. 158–160. Tertullian wrote a treatise *Aduersus Valentinianos* describing their doctrine and covering them with ridicule. The artificial Christology of V. was docetic and he denied that the body of Christ was of the substance of the Virgin. For a description of his elaborate system see Foakes-Jackson *Hist. of the Christian Church,* Camb. 1898, p. 425 foll.

ib. **Donatum**] See note p. 8 l. 8.

ib. **Photinum, Apollinarem**] See below p. 42 l. 1 and p. 43 l. 5.

11. **et dixerit**] Deut. xiii 2 (Vg.).

15. **non audies**] Deut. xiii 3 (Vg.).

Quia, inquit, *temptat uos dominus deus uester, ut palam fiat, utrum diligatis eum an non in toto corde et in tota anima uestra.* Luce clarius aperta causa est, cur interdum diuina prouidentia quosdam ecclesiarum magistros noua quaedam dogmata praedicare patiatur: *ut temptet uos dominus*, inquit, *deus uester*. Et profecto magna temptatio est, cum ille quem tu prophetam, quem prophetarum discipulum, quem doctorem et adsertorem ueritatis putes, quem summa ueneratione et amore complexus sis, is si subito latenter noxios subinducat errores quos nec cito deprehendere ualeas, dum antiqui magisterii duceris praeiudicio, nec facile damnare decidas, dum magistri ueteris praepediris adfectu.

1 dominus deus] ABΓscbjr. dominus (om. deus) Δ. 4 prouidentia] AΓΔscbjr. prudentia B. 5 dominus inquit] ABΓΔspjr. inquit dominus cbk. 6 et profecto] ABscbjr. ut profecto Γ. profecto Δ. 9 is si subito] ABΓpr. subito (omit. *is si*) Δ. is subito scbj. 12 (decidas) dicidas] ABΓ. diiudicas A (superscriptum). audeas Δr. ducis fas spj. fas ducis c. fas ducas bk.

4. **prouidentia**] This had already begun to be used as a designation of the Deity by non-Christian writers, cf. Sen. *Q.N.* II 45. 2; 'uis illum (i.e. deum) prouidentiam dicere? recte dices.'

8. **doctorem**] See p. 28 l. 10.

9. **is si subito**] The *si* is redundant after *cum*, but I have kept it in the text on the authority of the three oldest MSS, and such repetition is not uncommon even in the best classical writers.

11. **dum**] 'because.' For this causal use of *dum* see p. 18 l. 1 and Introd. § 4.

12. **decidas**] The three oldest MSS read dicidas (see appar. crit.), apparently for decidas, which is possibly right, for *e* and *i* are frequently interchanged in these codices, as has been noticed before. 'Audeas' of Δ is clearly one of the arbitrary alterations for which this MS is conspicuous. Diiudicas (superscriptum) in A is apparently an explanatory gloss, though the indicative is manifestly impossible here. The readings of the various editions are merely conjectures. 'Decidere' = 'to settle a lawsuit,' 'to compound,' hence 'to come to a decision'; approaching—especially in late Latin—the modern use of the word 'decide.' Cf. Cic. *Quint.* IV 17 'decidis statuisque tu quid iis ad denarium solueretur.' 'Errors which you cannot quickly detect because you are under the influence of his former teaching, and which you cannot easily decide to condemn, being prevented by affection for your ancient teacher.'

CAP. XI.

(16) Hic forsitan efflagitet aliquis, ut ea, quae sancti Moysei uerbis adserta sunt, ecclesiasticis aliquibus demonstrentur exemplis. Aequa expostulatio nec diu differenda. Nam ut a proximis et manifestis incipiam, qualem fuisse nuper temptationem putamus, cum infelix ille Nestorius, subito ex oue conuersus in lupum, gregem Christi lacerare coepisset, cum eum hi ipsi, qui rodebantur, ex magna adhuc parte ouem crederent ideoque morsibus suis magis paterent? Nam quis eum facile errare arbitraretur, quem tanto imperii iudicio electum, tanto sacerdotum studio prosecutum uideret, qui, cum magno sanctorum amore, summo populi fauore

2 Moysei] AB. Mosei Γs. Moysi Δcb^{3}jr. Moysis k et alii. 8 morsibus suis] ABΓΔb^{3}jr. morsibus eius scpb^{12}k.

XI. *Instances from Church History illustrating the words of Moses. Even good gifts such as those of Nestorius and Photinus, or useful labours such as those of Apollinaris against Porphyry, should not blind men to their heretical views. On the contrary, their high position and reputation make such teachers all the more dangerous.*

1. **forsitan**] followed here by subj. because it is not an imaginary objection, in which case it always takes indic. in V.; see p. 18 l. 8.

2. **Moysei**] Not only is this form the best supported throughout the treatise, but it corresponds with the classical genitive in -ei in such words as Achillei, Vlyssei.

4. **a proximis**] 'those nearest in time.'

5. **Nestorius**] Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 428. The recent discovery of his 'Heraclides' has shed new light on the views of this interesting character, and shews that he was greatly misunderstood by his contemporaries. See Bethune-Baker's *Nestorius and his Teaching*, Camb. 1908, and Loofs' *Nestorius and his place in the History of Christian Doctrine*, Camb. 1914, on one side, and Mason's *Chalcedonian Doctrine of the Incarnation*, S.P.C.K. 1913, on the other.

6. **lupum**] A reference to Matt. vii 15.

8. **suis**] See p. 37 l. 12.

9. **imperii iudicio**] 'by the choice of the Court,' i.e. of Theodosius II. On the death of Sisinnius, Theodosius sent for Nestorius from Antioch and caused him to be consecrated bishop of Constantinople. See Nestorius's own account of the transaction in Nau's translation of the *Book of Heraclides* p. 242 foll.

10. **sacerdotum**]=episcoporum. See p. 11 l. 7.

ib. **prosecutum**] Dep. part. used passively. See p. 14 l. 8.

11. **populi fauore**] At first Nestorius was, owing to his eloquence, extremely popular. It was the lengths to which he went in his zeal against heresy that made public opinion first turn against him and brand him

celebraretur, cottidie palam diuina tractabat eloquia et noxios quosque Iudaeorum et gentilium confutabat errores? Quo tandem iste modo non cuiuis fidem faceret, se recta docere, recta praedicare, recta sentire, qui, ut uni haeresi suae aditum patefaceret, cunctarum haereseon blasphemias insectabatur? Sed hoc erat illud, quod Moyses ait: *temptat uos dominus deus uester, si diligatis eum an non.*

Et ut Nestorium praetereamus, in quo plus semper admirationis quam utilitatis, plus famae quam experientiae fuit, quem opinione uulgi aliquamdiu magnum humana magis fecerat gratia quam diuina, eos potius commemoremus qui multis profectibus multaque industria praediti non paruae temptationi catholicis hominibus exstiterunt. Velut apud Pannonias maiorum memoria

2 noxios quosque] ABΓΔbjr (et uide p. 112 l. 12). noxios quoque scp. 3 iste] ABΓΔpb³jr. isto sc.

as an incendiary. Socr. *H.E.* VII 29.

1. **tractabat**] 'expounded the Scriptures in public every day.' For *eloquia* see p. 8 l. 5.

3. **fidem faceret**] = suaderet; see note on 'fides' p. 97 l. 8.

6. **insectabatur**] See Socr. *H.E.* VII 29, *χειροτονηθεὶς γὰρ... εὐθὺς ἐκείνην τὴν περιβόητον ἀφῆκε φωνήν...Δός μοί, φησιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν αἱρετικῶν, κἀγώ σοι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀντιδώσω.* When Nestorius received notice in December 430 of the anathemas directed against him by Cyril of Alexandria, he wrote to John of Antioch in order to protest against the calumnies to which, he said, John ought not to give heed, aimed, as they were, at one who was well known to be a fierce assailant of heresies (Mansi *Conc.* V 753 A).

9. **admirationis**] 'in whom there was always more to admire than to profit by, more of show than of reality.'

12. **profectibus**] Used only in poetry and post-Aug. prose. It is used by V. in two senses:

(i) 'merits,' 'attainments' (here only),

(ii) 'growth,' 'progress' (four times); p. 88 l. 10, p. 89 ll. 1, 2 where it is used in the singular; and also p. 91 l. 5 (profectuum leges) where the plural seems to mean 'laws of growth' in all its various forms.

14. **Pannonias**] The district north of Illyricum, which was divided into two parts, Superior and Inferior. Sirmium, of which town Photinus was bishop, was in Pannonia Inferior. The imperial residence was for a time fixed there, and it became a centre for councils and the formation of confessions of faith. Arian or Semi-Arian creeds were put forth at Sirmium in 351, 357, 358, and 359. Sirmium is the modern Metrovitz on the north bank of the river Save in Slavonia in Hungary.

ib. **maiorum memoria**] Photinus was deposed from the see

Photinus ecclesiam Sirmitanam temptasse memoratur, ubi cum magno omnium fauore in sacerdotium fuisset adscitus et aliquamdiu tamquam catholicus administraret, subito sicut malus ille *propheta aut somniator*, quem Moyses significat, creditam sibi plebem dei persuadere coepit, ut sequeretur *deos alienos*, id est, errores extraneos, quos antea nesciebat. Sed hoc usitatum; illud uero perniciosum, quod ad tantum nefas non mediocribus adminiculis utebatur. Nam erat et ingenii uiribus ualens et doctrinae opibus excellens et eloquio praepotens, quippe qui utroque sermone copiose et grauiter disputaret et scriberet; quod monumentis librorum suorum manifestatur, quos idem partim graeco partim latino sermone composuit. Sed bene, quod commissae ipsi oues Christi, multum pro catholica fide uigilantes et cautae, cito ad praemonentis Moysei eloquia

7 uero] ABΓscpbjr. omit. Δ. 12 partim graeco] AΓΔscbjr. omit. B. 15 Moysei] AB. Mosei Γs. Moysi Δcb^{3}jr. Moysis k et alii.

of Sirmium 83 years before the Commonitorium was written.

1. **Photinus**] Bishop of Sirmium during the first half of the fourth century. He was a dynamic or adoptianist monarchian, regarding the power and Spirit of God as indwelling in Jesus, whom he regarded as mere man. He was deposed by a Synod of Sirmium in 351 and died about 366. For the teaching of Photinus see the account given by Nestorius in Loofs' *Nestoriana* 303 foll.

2. **fuisset**] See note p. 29 l. 14.

4. **propheta aut s.**] Deut. xiii 1.

5. **plebem dei**] Cf. below 'oues Christi' (l. 14).

ib. **persuadere**] The use of the accusative after this verb is rare and post-Augustan; see p. 75 l. 13, and Introd. § 4. Cf. Goelzer *Lat. de S. Jérôme* p. 364, and Rönsch *Itala u. Vulgata* p. 442.

10. **eloquio**] Only here and p. 103 l. 12 in sing.; 'eloquence': see note p. 8 l. 5. For the natural ability, learning and eloquence of Photinus, see Pearson on the Creed, Art. II § 119 note.

ib. **utroque sermone**] i.e. Greek and Latin. See Socr. *H.E.* II 30, 45; and cf. Hor. *Od.* III 8. 5, 'docte sermones utriusque linguae.'

11. **monumentis**] i.e. his books are monuments or proofs that shew, etc. None of these, however, have survived to the present day, and our knowledge of Photinus is entirely derived from notices of him in hostile writers. Jerome (*De Viris Inlustr.* cvii) refers to a work *Contra Gentes* and some *Libri ad Valentinianum*. Socrates (*H.E.* II 30. 45) quotes a work κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων.

13. **bene**] sc. accidit.

14. **oues Christi**] John xxi 17.

respexerunt, et prophetae atque pastoris sui licet admirarentur eloquentiam, temptationem tamen non ignorarunt. Nam quem antea quasi arietem gregis sequebantur, eundem deinceps uelut lupum fugere coeperunt.

Neque solum Photini sed etiam Apollinaris exemplo istius ecclesiasticae temptationis periculum discimus et simul ad obseruandae diligentius fidei custodiam commonemur. Et ipse enim auditoribus suis magnos aestus et magnas generauit angustias, quippe cum eos huc ecclesiae traheret auctoritas, huc magistri retraheret consuetudo, cumque inter utraque nutabundi et fluctuantes, quid potius sibi seligendum foret, non expedirent. Sed forsitan

1 respexerunt] ABΓscbjr. prospexerunt Δ. 6 discimus] AΓΔscbjr. dicimus B. 7 ad...custodiam] ABΔscbjr. ab...custodia Γ. 8 et ipse enim] ABΓΔpjr. etenim ipse scb (sed Vinc. *etenim* numquam in primo loco ponit). *ib.* aestus] ABΓΔpbjr. actus sc (sed Cos. coniecit aestus). 11 cumque] ABΓΔpbjr. sic sc. 12 seligendum] ABscpbjr. eligendum (secunda manus 's' erasit) ΓΔk. *ib.* expedirent] ABΓΔpbjr. expediunt sc. expendunt (sic) k Herzog.

3. **arietem gregis**] Cf. *Mart. Polycarpi*, 14, ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου.

4. **fugere**] This shunning of Photinus by his own people refers to the Synod of Sirmium which deposed him. There is considerable uncertainty, however, with regard to his history. A collection of authorities on the chronological difficulties in connexion with his life may be seen in a note to Hefele's *Councils* (Oxenham's trans. II 188–9).

5. **Apollinaris**] Bishop of Laodicea A.D. 362, assailed the perfect humanity of Christ, denying the existence in Him of a reasonable soul, the place of which, he held, was taken by the Divine Logos. Thus originated the phrase μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη (not σεσαρκωμένου). Apollinaris made Christ a middle Being between God and man, in whom one part divine and two parts human were fused. See G. Voisin *L'Apollinarisme*, Paris, 1901, and Lietzmann *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule*, Tübingen, 1904.

7. **commonemur**] Lit. 'we are warned to guard the faith which must be watched with still more diligence,' i.e. 'we are warned to watch still more diligently with a view to safe-guarding the faith.'

12. **expedirent**] carries on the construction of *quippe cum*; 'and inasmuch as, hesitating and wavering between the two, they were in difficulties as to which course they ought to choose.' Sichard and Coster read 'sic... non expediunt' i.e. 'accordingly they are unable to decide' (sic = itaque). *Expedirent* seems to mean 'could not extricate from the uncertainty,' i.e. 'could not decide.'

eiusmodi ille uir erat, qui dignus esset facile contemni. Immo uero tantus ac talis, cui nimium cito in plurimis crederetur. Nam quid illo praestantius acumine exercitatione doctrina? Quam multas ille haereses multis uoluminibus oppresserit, quot inimicos fidei confutauerit errores, indicio est opus illud triginta non minus librorum, nobilissimum et maximum, quo insanas Porphyrii calumnias magna probationum mole confudit. Longum est uniuersa ipsius opera commemorare, quibus profecto summis aedificatoribus ecclesiae par esse potuisset, nisi profana illa haereticae curiositatis libidine nouum nescio quid adinuenisset, quo et cunctos labores suos uelut cuiusdam leprae admixtione foedaret, et committeret ut doctrina eius non tam aedificatio quam temptatio ecclesiastica diceretur.

3 crederetur] ABΔscjr. crederet Γ. 5 oppresserit...confutauerit] Ascbj. oppressit...confutauit BΓΔpr. 7 et] ABΓΔ(&)spjr. ac cb. 8 probationum] ABΓscbjr. probationis Δ. 11 adinuenisset] ABΓΔspbjr. inuenisset c. 13 et committeret ut] ABΓΔpbjr. ut committeret et s. et (omit. comm. ut) c. 14 temptatio] ABΓΔ. temptatio potius scbjr.

1. **dignus...contemni**] Greek constr., not in Cic., but common in Aug. poets: cf. 'dignus amari' Virg. *Ec.* v 89.

2. **in plurimis**] 'on most subjects.' At the Council of Nicaea Apollinaris had fought on the side of Athanasius. It was not until 375 that he separated from the Church.

6. **opus illud**] This work in thirty books, of which Jerome (*De Vir. Inl.* civ) speaks in high terms, has not come down to us, nor indeed have his other writings except in fragments.

7. **Porphyrii**] The most distinguished and learned teacher of the Neo-Platonic school after Plotinus, born A.D. 232 and died at Rome 305. He wrote fifteen books against Christianity which were destroyed by Theodosius II in 435. One or two of Porphyry's numerous philosophical works are still extant, e.g. *ἀφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητά*, which is a brief exposition of his philosophical system. The latest attempt at reconstruction of Porphyry's attack on Christianity is T. W. Crafer's in the *Journal of Theol. Studies*, April and July, 1914.

9. **opera**] Of the writings of Apollinaris, *περὶ σαρκώσεως*, *περὶ πίστεως*, *περὶ ἀναστάσεως*, *κατὰ κεφάλαιον*, and other polemical and exegetical works and epistles, the fragments that remain are to be found in the answers of Gregory of Nyssa and Theodoret, in Leontius Byzant., in the *Catenae*, and in Angelo Mai's *Noua Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. VII, Rome, 1854, part II, pp. 82–91.

11. **curiositatis**] See p. 18 l. 6.

CAP. XII.

Hic a me forsitan deposcatur ut horum quos supra commemoraui haereses exponam, Nestorii scilicet, Apollinaris et Photini. Hoc quidem ad rem de qua nunc agimus non adtinet. Propositum etenim nobis est, non singulorum errores persequi, sed paucorum exempla proferre, quibus euidenter ac perspicue demonstretur illud quod Moyses ait, quia scilicet, si quando ecclesiasticus aliquis magister, et ipse interpretandis prophetarum mysteriis propheta, noui quiddam in ecclesia dei temptet inducere, ad temptationem id nostram fieri prouidentia diuina patiatur.

(17) Vtile igitur fuerit in excursu, quid supra memorati haeretici sentiant, breuiter exponere, id est Photinus,

9 ecclesia] ABΓΔr. ecclesiam scbj. 12 utile] ABΓscbjr. utile illud Δ.

XII. *A digression containing a somewhat detailed account of the heresies of Photinus, Apollinaris and Nestorius.*

4. **propositum**] In ch. II (p. 7 l. 3), V. says that his main purpose is to provide a rule for the discernment of the true Catholic Faith. He here declares that his purpose in this section is not the refutation of heresies in particular or in detail (singulorum errores).

7. **Moyses ait**] Deut. xiii 1–3.

ib. **quia**] with subjunctive, instead of accus. and infin. So also p. 107 l. 8. See Introd. § 4.

9. **propheta**] Cf. 1 Cor. xiii 2 and see note p. 37 l. 9. 'Being himself also a prophet in interpreting the mysteries of the prophets.'

10. **prouidentia**] See note p. 39 l. 4.

12. **excursu**] This digression, which lasts to the end of ch. XVI, contains an exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, in which there is so close an agreement both in substance and in the form of expression with the so-called Athanasian Creed, that some, e.g. Antelmi in 1693 and Ommanney in 1896, have been led to ascribe that symbolum to V. It has, however, been shewn in Introd. § 6 that the differences in style and treatment are too great to render that view tenable. It seems not unlikely that the Quicumque was composed at Lerins, but probably by Caesarius who became bishop of Arles A.D. 502. In that document he seems to have incorporated phrases and expressions which were either drawn directly from the Commonitorium or were in common use among the monks in the monastery of Lerinum.

13. **Photinus**] See note p. 42 l. 1 The system of Photinus was anathematized at Antioch A.D. 344 where the assembled bishops

Apollinaris, Nestorius. Photini ergo secta haec est. Dicit deum singulum esse et solitarium et more iudaico confitendum. Trinitatis plenitudinem negat, neque ullam dei uerbi aut ullam spiritus sancti putat esse personam. Christum uero hominem tantummodo solitarium adserit, cui principium adscribit ex Maria; et hoc omnimodis dogmatizat, solam nos personam dei patris et solum Christum hominem colere debere. Haec ergo Photinus.

Apollinaris uero in unitate quidem trinitatis quasi consentire se iactitat, et hoc ipsum non plena fidei sanitate,

3 confitendum] ABΓscbjr. confitendam Δ. 10 iactitat] ABΓΔ spbjr. iactat c. *ib.* non plena] ABΓΔspbjr. plena (omit. non) c et alii. *ib.* sanitate] ABΓΔscpbjr. sanctitate k et alii.

with laboured playfulness styled him Σκοτεινός—the man of darkness. His heresy lay in affirming that there was no 'Person' of God the Word or of the Holy Ghost. Thus his conception of the one God was that of the Jews and approximated to that of the Unitarians of to-day. He maintained that Christ was a mere man who had his beginning of the Virgin Mary.

2. **singulum**] =unum, i.e.'sole'; rare in this sense and only ante- and post-classical. Cf. Plaut. *Cist.* IV 2. 23; 'singulum uideo uestigium.'

4. **personam**] 'personality'; a legal term (borrowed from the stage) of which πρόσωπον is the Gk equivalent. V. is very definite in his use of this word. See ch. XIV and note p. 55 l. 8.

5. **solitarium**] 'mere' man, i.e. not divine. 'Christ,' he asserts, 'was a man pure and simple.' Three lines before it is used of God, 'He says that God is sole and single,' where the sense is exactly the same. See the index to Fausset's Novatian *de Trinitate.*

6. **omnimodis**] Lucretian and late Latin 'in every way,' i.e. completely, emphatically.

7. **dogmatizat**] δογματίζειν 'to propound a dogma.' Only used here by V., but see Aug. *Ep.* *clxxxvii* 8. 29 (*Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* LVII p. 107) 'si quid aliter sapiunt, cogitationes suas carnales non dogmatizant.'

9. **Apollinaris**] See p. 43 l. 5 and consult Tixeront *Hist. des Dogmes* II 94 foll. esp. p. 101.

10. **hoc ipsum**] 'though not even this with entire soundness of belief.' Coster omitted 'non'; and others (e.g. Camb. ed. 1687, Klüpf. 1809, Herzog 1839, Oxford ed. 1836) in addition to omitting 'non' substitute 'sanctitate' for 'sanitate.' So too Petavius (*Theol. Dogm.* Tom. IV, Book I, ch. vi 15), who interprets the phrase to be part of the boast of Apollinaris. But the reading is clearly erroneous. Greg. Naz. *Ep.* I *ad Cled.* censures Apollinaris as falling into the error of Sabellius and holding patripassian views, and he adduces various works of his as witness. See also Basil *Ep.* 293, who maintains the same. That the accusation is not justified is

sed in domini incarnatione aperta professione blasphemat. Dicit enim in ipsa saluatoris nostri carne aut animam humanam penitus non fuisse aut certe talem fuisse cui mens et ratio non esset. Sed et ipsam domini carnem non de sanctae uirginis Mariae carne susceptam, sed de caelo in uirginem descendisse dicebat, eamque nutabundus semper et dubius, modo coaeternam deo uerbo, modo de uerbi diuinitate factam praedicabat. Nolebat enim in Christo duas esse substantias, unam diuinam alteram humanam, unam ex patre alteram ex matre, sed ipsam uerbi naturam putabat esse discissam, quasi aliud eius permaneret in deo, aliud uero uersum fuisset in carnem; ut, cum ueritas dicat ex duabus substantiis unum esse Christum, ille contrarius ueritati ex una Christi diuinitate duas adserat factas esse substantias. Haec itaque Apollinaris.

3 fuisse cui...esset] ABΓscpbjr. omittit omnino Δ. 9 duas esse] ABΓΔspjr. esse duas cbk. 11 discissam] ABΓscbjr. descissam Δ.

shewn by Tixeront *Hist. des Dogmes* II 101 foll.

4. **mens et ratio**] 'that our Saviour's flesh was devoid of a human or at any rate of a rational soul.' Hence Quicumque; 'of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.' Apollinaris maintained that the Logos Homoousios took the place of a soul in Christ, but the meaning which he attached to the 'soul' in this connexion underwent change (Socrates *H.E.* II 46; cf. Tixeront, ut supra, p. 97).

5. **de caelo**] It was perhaps in reference to the view here attributed to Apollinaris that the clause 'by the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary' (ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου) was inserted later in the Nicene Creed. See Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 112. Bethune-Baker *Early Christian Doctrine* p. 245, and Tixeront, l.c. p. 101, defend Apollinaris from the charge.

9. **substantias**] The word 'substantia' for οὐσία was practically introduced by Tertullian. V. uses it frequently in the sense of 'nature' defined either as divine or human. On this term introduced into theology in the West see R. L. Ottley *Doctrine of the Incarnation* pp. 573–597; Bethune-Baker *Early Christian Doctrine* pp. 231–8; and T. B. Strong 'History of the Theological Term *Substance*,' *Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1901 (p. 38 et seq.).

11. **discissam**] This is not what Apollinaris taught, but V.'s deduction from his teaching. See Tixeront op. cit. p. 99. V.'s knowledge of Apollinaris was probably derived chiefly from Augustine, and his in turn from Epiphanius.

12. **fuisset**] See note p. 29 l. 14.

Nestorius autem contrario Apollinari morbo, dum sese duas in Christo substantias distinguere simulat, duas introducit repente personas, et inaudito scelere duos esse uult filios dei, duos Christos, unum deum alterum hominem, unum qui ex patre, alterum qui sit generatus ex matre. Atque ideo adserit sanctam Mariam non theotocon sed christotocon esse dicendam, quia scilicet ex ea non ille Christus qui deus, sed ille qui erat homo, natus sit. Quodsi quis eum putat in litteris suis unum Christum dicere et unam Christi praedicare personam, non temere credat. Aut enim istud

1 sese] ABΓΔspbjr. se ck. 5 sit generatus] ABΓscbjr. generatus sit Δ. 10 temere] ABΓscbjr. temerare Δ.

1. **Nestorius**] See note p. 40 l. 5. N. would only allow a conjunction (*συνάφεια*) of two *πρόσωπα* and denied that the two natures formed a unity *καθ' ὑπόστασιν*. This conjunction, in which they were brought together, was only *σχετική*, one of relation; but his conception of what constitutes a *πρόσωπον* is far from clear, and by the phrase *ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν* he understood a fusion of two natures into one nature.

3. **inaudito scelere**] All this is hostile inference from Nestorius' teaching, and he himself vehemently denied that it was what he taught. See Nau *Livre d'Héraclide* p. 262; Mason *Chalcedonian Doctrine* pp. 26, 29; and Loofs' *Nestoriana* p. 397 (the passages in Index, last paragraph).

6. **theotocon**] 'ought not to be called the "mother of God" but the "mother of Christ."' It was Anastasius, a presbyter of Constantinople, who first kindled the fire of controversy which proved fatal to Nestorius. Preaching in the presence of his bishop on one occasion, he said: 'Let no man call Mary "theotocos," for she was but a woman, and it is impossible that God should be born of a woman.' This sermon caused great excitement and was endorsed and defended by the patriarch himself. See however Nestorius' own account in Nau's *Livre d'Héraclide* p. 91. The doctrine which N. wished to emphasize was that of the Divine Personality of the Word unchanged by His conception and birth. He did not himself object to the word 'theotocos' when duly explained, see e.g. Nau, p. 260. Nestorius uses it without hesitation in his own sermon, Nau, p. 345 l. 7.

9. **litteris suis**] The writings of Nestorius were consigned to the flames by order of Theodosius, and after the Council of Ephesus none bearing his name were allowed to be in circulation. Scarcely any, therefore, of his works have survived except such as have been preserved in the replies of his opponents. Now however we possess, besides several new sermons in the original Greek, the Syriac translation of the book already several times referred to—the *Book of Heraclides*—of which M. Nau has published a French translation.

fallendi arte machinatus est, ut per bona facilius suaderet et mala, sicut ait apostolus: *Per bonum mihi operatus est mortem*,—aut ergo, ut diximus, fraudulentiae causa quibusdam in locis scriptorum suorum unum Christum, et unam Christi personam credere se iactitat, aut certe post partum iam uirginis ita in unum Christum duas perhibet conuenisse personas, ut tamen conceptus seu partus uirginei tempore et aliquanto postea duos Christos fuisse contendat, ut, cum scilicet Christus homo communis primum et solitarius natus sit, et necdum dei uerbo personae unitate sociatus, postea in eum adsumentis uerbi persona descenderit, et licet nunc in dei gloria maneat adsumptus, aliquamdiu tamen nihil inter illum et ceteros homines interfuisse uideatur.

CAP. XIII.

(18) Haec ergo Nestorius, Apollinaris, Photinus aduersus catholicam fidem rabidi canes latrant, Photinus trinitatem non confitendo, Apollinaris conuertibilem uerbi

8 ut cum] ABΓΔpbjr. et cum sc. 10 dei uerbo] ABΓΔpbjr. dei uerbi sc. 11 adsumentis] ABΔscbjr. ut sumentis Γ. 12 gloria] ABΔscbjr. gloriam Γ.

2. **per bonum**] Rom. vii 13 (Vg.).

3. **aut ergo**] Resumptive; 'either, I say, he cunningly pretends in some passages of his writings that he believes one Christ and one Person of Christ.'

5. **post partum iam u.**] There is nothing in Nestorius' teaching that suggests this often repeated calumny. But V.'s words 'et aliquanto postea' seem to point to a famous saying ascribed to N., that he could never acknowledge God to be a child of three months old. See Bethune-Baker *Nestorius* p. 69.

10. **necdum**] = nondum. V. uses several particles in a non-classical sense (see p. 18 l. 1), also several late Latin contractions, e.g. hodieque (p. 120 l. 3).

11. **adsumentis**] See below, p. 58 l. 7. 'Afterwards the Person of the assuming Word descended upon him, and though now the man assumed remains in the glory of God, yet for some time there seems to have been no difference between Him and other men.'

XIII. *The true doctrine of the Church as regards the Trinity, which is a Trinity of distinct Persons but not distinct substances; and as regards the person of Christ, who is perfect God and perfect man, yet not two but one Christ.*

16. **conuertibilem**] 'mutable,' i.e. that it was possible for the

dicendo naturam, et duas in Christo substantias non confitendo, et aut totam Christi animam aut certe mentem atque rationem in anima denegando, et adserendo pro sensu mentis fuisse dei uerbum, Nestorius duos Christos aut semper esse aut aliquamdiu fuisse adseuerando. Ecclesia uero catholica et de deo et de saluatore nostro recta sentiens nec in trinitatis mysterio nec in Christi incarnatione blasphemat. Nam et unam diuinitatem in trinitatis plenitudine et trinitatis aequalitatem in una atque eadem maiestate ueneratur, et unum Christum Iesum, non duos, eundemque deum pariter atque hominem confitetur Vnam quidem in eo personam sed duas substantias, duas substantias sed unam credit esse personam. Duas substantias, quia mutabile non est uerbum dei, ut ipsum uerteretur in carnem; unam personam, ne duos profitendo filios quaternitatem uideatur colere, non trinitatem.

7 mysterio...incarnatione] ABΓΔspb^{3}jr. mysterium...incarnationem cb^{12}. 13 substantias sed] ABΓΔcbjr. subsistentias sed s.

nature of the Word to be changed. The change implied in *τρεπτός* (which *conu.* represents) is comprehensive and would include dying, for instance, or moral alteration.

2. **mentem**] 'intelligence,' whereas animam = soul. 'Either denying the soul of Christ altogether, or at least refusing to that soul intelligence and reason.'

4. **sensu**] Here 'intelligence,' or 'thought'—not specially 'reasoning.' Thus it corresponds to the compound phrase 'mens et ratio' used before: 'in place of an intelligent mind.'

7. **trinitatis myst.**] Cf. p. 47 l. 1, 'is guilty of blasphemy neither in respect of the mystery of the Trinity nor in respect of the incarnation of Christ.' *In* = 'in the matter of.' The acc. read by Coster and the first edition of Baluze gives quite a wrong meaning, viz. 'blasphemy against'; as in Mark iii 28 'blasphemauerit in Spiritum Sanctum.'

8. **unam diuinitatem**] cf. Quicumque: Fides autem catholica haec est ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate ueneremur.

11. **deum pariter**] cf. Quicumque: Dominus noster Iesus Christus Dei filius et Deus pariter et homo est.

14. **est uerbum...uerteretur**] For this violation of sequence of tenses see Introd. § 4. It is found in two other passages, p. 57 l. 6 and p. 83 l. 5. Here it is probably due to the fact that the supposed 'conversion' was a thing of the past.

(19) Sed operae pretium est, ut id ipsum etiam atque etiam distinctius et expressius enucleemus. In deo una substantia sed tres personae; in Christo duae substantiae sed una persona. In trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud; in saluatore aliud atque aliud, non alius atque alius. Quomodo in trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud? Quia scilicet alia est persona patris, alia filii, alia spiritus sancti; sed tamen patris et filii et spiritus sancti non alia et alia sed una eademque natura. Quomodo in saluatore aliud atque aliud non alius atque alius? Quia uidelicet altera substantia diuinitatis altera humanitatis; sed tamen deitas et humanitas non alter et alter, sed unus idemque Christus, unus idemque filius dei, et unius eiusdemque Christi et filii dei una eademque persona; sicut in homine aliud caro et aliud anima, sed

1 id ipsum] AB (secunda manu) Γscbjr. ipsum (omit. id) B (prima m.) Δ. 11 altera substantia] ABΓscbjr. altera est substantia Δ.

2. **enucleemus**] 'lay open'; 'explain': lit. 'clear a kernel from husks.' 'But it is worth while to express this doctrine again and again more clearly and explicitly.'

ib. **in deo una s.**] Perhaps the earliest instance of this observation is to be found in Nestorius *Livre d'Héraclide* (Nau, p. 219): 'De même qu'en la Trinité il y a une essence de trois prosôpons,... (de même) ici il y a un prosôpon de deux essences.'

4. **alius atque alius**] Alius answers to the question 'quis?' and aliud answers to the question 'quid?'. This method of explaining the doctrine of the Trinity, which is used throughout the present chapter, is characteristic of the vivid style of V. and is not found in the Quicumque. A literal rendering of these formulae is scarcely possible and we must be content to translate 'alius atque alius' *different persons* and 'aliud atque aliud' *different substances*: cf. below l. 12 'alter et alter.'

7. **alia est persona**] cf. Quicumque: Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

12. **alter et alter**] 'two distinct persons.'

15. **sicut in homine**] This comparison, though by no means perfect, well illustrates a natural union in which two distinct 'substances' are joined in one person. Not only is it found in the Quicumque, but it occurred naturally to theological writers and was used by them even after the Eutychians had perverted the analogy to serve their own purpose. See Vigilius of Thapsus *contra Eutych.* v 6. The fact that soul and body form *one* nature in man was used by the Monophysites as an argument for *one* nature in Christ. See *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1911,

unus idemque homo anima et caro. In Petro uel Paulo aliud anima aliud caro, nec tamen duo Petri caro et anima, aut alter Paulus anima et alter caro, sed unus idemque Petrus unus idemque Paulus, ex duplici diuersaque subsistens animi corporisque natura. Ita igitur in uno eodemque Christo duae substantiae sunt, sed una diuina altera humana, una ex patre deo altera ex matre uirgine, una coaeterna et aequalis patri altera ex tempore et minor patre, una consubstantialis patri altera consubstantialis matri, unus tamen idemque Christus in utraque substantia. Non ergo alter Christus deus alter homo, non alter increatus alter creatus, non alter impassibilis alter passibilis, non

1 uel Paulo] ABΓspjr. et Paulo Δcbk. 8 aequalis] ABΓscbjr. coaequalis Δ.

p. 166; Ottley *Incarn.* II 279; and Nestorius's criticism of the comparison in *Héraclide* p. 142 foll.

1. **Petro**] There is no need to seek any special significance in the choice of Peter and Paul. They are used as mere names. In p. 58 l. 3 John also is associated with them by way of illustration.

5. **animi corporisque**] These two words are used here as synonymous with 'anima et caro' which V. has hitherto employed.

8. **coaeterna et aeq.**] These words are possibly used by V. as synonyms, in which case '*minor*' in the corresponding phrase must mean 'younger.' It is more likely, however, that *aequalis* and *minor* mean 'equal' and 'inferior' in powers and attributes. Thus V. is here giving the view of the Western Fathers generally which later found expression in Leo's Tome, setting aside any subordination in the persons of the Trinity. See Westcott's Additional Note on St John xiv 28.

ib. **ex tempore**] 'temporal' as opposed to 'eternal' (coaeterna).

9. **consubstantialis**] = ὁμοούσιος. This is the theological term which Athanasius spent his life fighting for, but which, nevertheless, does not occur in the so-called Athanasian Creed. It was, of course, the Arians who denied the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father.

ib. **consubst. matri**] This phrase is found in the confession of faith which Flavian sent to the Emperor in 449. The Antiochenes, followed by the Council of Chalcedon, substituted ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. The choice of ὁμοούσιον τῇ μητρί may have been due to fear of the direct statement that Christ's human nature is exactly like ours (see Mason *Chalcedonian Doctrine* p. 49), but it is more likely to have been intended to give a more pointed antithesis to ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί.

12. **passibilis**] 'capable of suffering,' cf. passus, p. 53 l. 4. The first place, as far as we know, where these paradoxes occur is Ignatius *Ep. to Polycarp* III; τὸν ἀόρατον, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ὁρατόν,.... τὸν ἀπαθῆ, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς παθητόν.

alter aequalis patri alter minor patre, non alter ex patre alter ex matre, sed unus idemque Christus deus et homo, idem non creatus et creatus, idem incommutabilis et impassibilis, idem commutatus et passus, idem patri et aequalis et minor, idem ex patre ante saecula genitus idem in saeculo ex matre generatus; perfectus deus, perfectus homo; in deo summa diuinitas, in homine plena humanitas. Plena, inquam, humanitas quippe quae animam simul habeat et carnem, sed carnem ueram, nostram, maternam, animam uero intellectu praeditam, mente ac ratione pol- 10
lentem.

Est ergo in Christo uerbum anima caro, sed hoc totum unus est Christus, unus filius dei, et unus saluator ac redemptor noster. Vnus autem non corruptibili nescio

6 generatus] ABΔscbjr. genitus Γ. 8 animam s. habeat et carnem] ABΓscbjr. in animam s. habeat carnem Δ.

3. **non creatus**] = 'increatus' of l. 11 above.

4. **idem patri**] Cf. Quicumque: Aequalis Patri secundum diuinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem. Cf. also John x 30, *ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν* with John xiv 28, *ὁ πατὴρ μείζων μου ἐστί*, and see Augustine's comment, *Tract. in Ioan.* lxxviii 1.

5 **ante saecula genitus**.....] Cf. Quicumque: Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus et homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus. This similarity, coupled with the four following words, is very significant. Of course the half of the phrase (natum ex Patre ante omnia saecula) lay already in the Constantinopolitan Creed. The rest may have been taken directly from this passage. See Introd. § 6.

6. **perfectus deus, p. h.**] These four words, which occur both here and in the Quicumque, are not to be found in Augustine though the sense they express is clearly taught by him. He uses such phrases as 'uerus deus et uerus homo,' and 'totus deus et totus homo.' The expression occurs, however, in substance in the Chalcedonian definition, taken from Cyril of Alexandria.

7. **in deo...in homine**] Here, all of a sudden, we fall again into the older, pre-Nestorian phraseology of 'the God' and 'the man' in Christ, which is found also in Leo's Tome § 4 'sicut enim deus non mutatur miseratione, ita homo non consumitur dignitate'; and 'in domino Iesu Christo dei et hominis una persona.'

8. **animam simul**] Cf. Quicumque: Ex anima rationabili et humana carne subsistens.

9. **sed carnem**] For this use of *sed* 'yes and what is more' see note p. 3 l. 5 'sed tempus.'

14. **corruptibili**] 'not by some sort of corruptible confusion of divinity and humanity.' Cf. Quicumque: Vnus omnino non

qua diuinitatis et humanitatis confusione, sed integra et singulari quadam unitate personae. Neque enim illa coniunctio alterum in alterum conuertit atque mutauit, qui est error proprius Arrianorum, sed ita in unum potius utrumque compegit, ut manente semper in Christo singularitate unius eiusdemque personae, in aeternum quoque permaneat proprietas uniuscuiusque naturae, quo scilicet nec umquam deus corpus esse incipiat, nec aliquando corpus corpus esse desistat. Quod etiam humanae condicionis demonstratur exemplo. Neque enim in praesenti tantum sed in futuro quoque unusquisque hominum

4 Arrianorum] AΔcbjr. Arriorum BΓp. Arianorum s.

confusione substantiae sed unitate personae. By *corrup.* V. apparently means that the divinity in Christ is not so fused with humanity as to become subject to death.

1. **integra**] 'whole and single unity of Person': 'integra' refers to the unchanged properties of each nature. The divinity of Christ does not become corruptible, nor does the humanity become, in itself, incorruptible. Each retains its characteristics without affecting the unity of Christ.

2. **singulari**] cf. *singularitate*, below, l. 6, referring to the 'oneness' of His person.

3. **coniunctio**] 'this union has not converted and changed one nature into another.' Arianism is here accused of regarding the divinity of Christ as being in some way changed by its union with humanity. This rather curious charge seems to start from Arius' statement (in *Thalia*) referred to by Ath. *Or.* 1 6, p. 24A, that the Logos is *τῇ μὲν φύσει τρεπτός κ.τ.λ.* No doubt certain phases of Arian thought anticipated Apollinaris and regarded the divinity of Christ as holding in him the place of a soul. It is a constant charge against the Arians in Nestorius's *Heraclides*. Those who held this view may be said to have maintained that the nature of the Word was turned into flesh. Hence Hilary, *De Trin.* x 9 and 18, says: 'Ac ne uerbi uirtus atque natura defecisse a se existimaretur in carnem.'

7. **proprietas**] = *ἰδιότης*, i.e. 'the distinguishing characteristics': cf. Tert. *adu. Prax.* xxvii; 'et adeo salua est utriusque proprietas substantiae, ut et spiritus res suas egerit in illo, id est uirtutes et opera et signa, et caro passiones suas functa sit.' Leo *ad Flau.* iii 'Salua igitur proprietate utriusque naturae et substantiae et in unam coeunte personam.' See also Symb. Chalc. *σωζομένης...τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως.*

8. **corpus**] The sudden substitution again of corpus for caro is somewhat curious, see p. 52 l. 5.

9. **humanae condicionis**] Cf. p. 32 l. 9.

10. **in praesenti**] 'in the present life.'

ex anima constabit et corpore, nec tamen umquam aut corpus in animam aut anima uertetur in corpus, sed unoquoque hominum sine fine uicturo, in unoquoque hominum sine fine necessario utriusque substantiae differentia permanebit. Ita in Christo quoque utriusque substantiae sua cuique in aeternum proprietas, salua tamen personae unitate, retinenda est.

Cap. XIV.

(20) Sed cum personam saepius nominamus et dicimus, quod deus per personam homo factus sit, uehementer uerendum est, ne hoc dicere uideamur quod deus uerbum sola imitatione actionis, quae sunt nostra, susceperit, et

1 ex anima cons. et corpore] ABΓΔspbjr. const. ex corpore et anima c. 4 differentia perm. ita in Christo q. utriusque subs.] omittit (per homoeoteleuton) B. 5 ita] AΓscbjr. omit. BΔ. *ib.* sua] ABΓ (secunda manu) Δcbjr. sui Γ (prima manu). suae sp. 9 per personam] ABΓΔpbjr. personâ sc. 10 ne] ABΓscpbjr. nec Δ. 11 sola] ABΓscbjr. omittit Δ.

4. **differentia**] strictly speaking, 'the quality of each substance by which it differs from another': i.e. 'the distinction between the two substances (namely, soul and body) will of necessity remain in each person for ever.'

6. **salua**] 'without detriment to the unity of his person.'

XIV. *The Catholic faith affirms that Jesus Christ took upon himself our nature and became man in reality and truth, and not in mere semblance as the Docetics teach.*

8. **personam**] V. is afraid lest the word 'persona' should be understood in a manner contrary to Catholic verity. The Latin word (lit. a 'mask') signifies not only 'person' in our sense of the term, but also an 'assumed' character. This double meaning is not found in the English word 'person,' though it is in the word 'personate.' Christ did not assume, in the sense of adopting for a while, the person or rôle of man. V. devotes himself in this chapter to demonstrating that Christ, while on earth, did not merely personate man but was man in truth and in reality. See above p. 46 l. 4.

ib. **dicimus**] with quod and subj. instead of acc. and inf. So below l. 10 and often. See p. 7 l. 6, and Index III.

11. **imitatione actionis**] The word *actio* is already influenced by the technical, theatrical sense, which comes out clearly a few lines below,—'as an actor might represent them.'

quicquid illud est conuersationis humanae, quasi adumbratus non quasi uerus homo fecerit; sicut in theatris fieri solet, ubi unus plures effingit repente personas, quarum ipse nulla est. Quotienscumque etenim aliqua suscipitur imitatio actionis alienae, ita aliorum officia aut opera patrantur, ut tamen hi, qui agunt, non sint ipsi, quos agunt. Neque enim, ut uerbi gratia saecularium [et Manichaeorum] utamur exemplis, cum actor tragicus sacerdotem effingit aut regem, sacerdos aut rex est; nam desinente actu simul et ea, quam susceperat, persona desistit. Absit hoc a nobis nefarium scelestumque ludibrium. Manichaeorum sit ista

7 et Manichaeorum] BΓΔscpbjr. est Manich. (? pro 'hoc est') A. 8 actor] ABΔscpbjr. auctor Γk Herzog. 10 quam suscep.] A (q̃;) Δbjr. quae suscep. B (susciperat) Γscp. *ib.* desistit] ABΓΔbjr. desistunt scp. 11 scelestumque] ABΓΔpbr. sceleratumque scj.

1. **quicquid illud est c. h.**] This is a common method of overcoming the difficulty of abstract words in Latin. Cf. Fausset's Novatian *De Trin.* pp. 18, 21 and 98.

ibid. **adumbratus**] 'in semblance.' The Manicheans (see below l. 11) maintained that our Lord merely played a part and was not in reality man any more than a tragic actor is the character he personates.

3. **repente**] 'by a quick change' (Bindley).

5. **actionis alienae**] Here, on the other hand, 'actio' is clearly used in the sense of conduct, behaviour, action, without any theatrical signification.

7. **et Manichaeorum**] If these words are right, which is doubtful, they must mean: 'that we may take examples from secular life and much in vogue with the Manichaeans.' Baluze, however, was probably correct in supposing that 'et Manichaeorum' is a gloss from l. 11 below. And with him Jülicher and Rauschen agree. Though found in every MS and early edition, these words are clearly out of place here, for *saecularium* refers to play-actors, and the introduction of another kind of genitive is very harsh.

10. **desistit**] 'that character which he had assumed ceases to exist.' For this absolute use of desisto see p. 59 l. 16 'quae cum actione desisteret.'

11. **Manichaeorum**] The followers of one Mani or Manes (Manichaeus), a Persian who was born in the city of Mardina A.D. 215 and died by crucifixion in 276. Manicheism may be described as Orientalism tinged with Christianity rather than a Christian heresy. In the fourth century, after Christianity had become the state religion, it represented an indefinite spiritual and intellectual movement, combining the charms of the new philosophy of religion with the allurements of the old as represented in the mysteries. Manicheism, the successor of Mithraism, was one of the most important and purest forms of Gnosticism, except that it was

dementia, qui phantasiae praedicatores aiunt filium dei deum personam hominis non substantiue exstitisse sed actu putatiuo quodam et conuersatione simulasse. Catholica uero fides ita uerbum dei hominem factum esse dicit ut quae nostra sunt non fallaciter et adumbrate sed uere expresseque susciperet, et quae erant humana, non quasi aliena imitaretur sed potius ut sua gereret, et prorsus quod agebat hoc esset,

2 substantiue] cjr. substantia Δ. substantiae ABΓspb. 7 prorsus quod agebat hoc esset] BΓΔpr. prorsus quod agebat is esset A. prorsus quod agebat hoc etiam s. esset cb²j.

pagan, as contrasted with the Christian foundation of other forms of Gnosticism. The fundamental part in this system is the theory of the origin of the world, which was rooted in Persian Dualism. The world began in a mixing of two opposing elements, light and darkness, the one essentially good, the other essentially evil. Thus, Manicheism was a descendant of Zoroastrianism. Though of non-Christian origin, it adopted many Christian customs and beliefs. The Fathers accused it of having travesties of Christian rites,—baptism and the eucharist. The theory of the Manicheans about the creation of the material world being due to the evil principle determined also their view of the Incarnation, which they regarded as wholly docetic. If a material body was a prison and a burden to the spirit of man, Christ could not have consented to imprison his divine Spirit in the same. This docetic view of the Incarnation of course destroyed the reality equally of His life, His death, resurrection and ascension, and in fact struck at the root of all historical Christianity. This sect had followers everywhere but was specially strong in Africa, and notwithstanding all efforts made against it, it lingered on in Rome until the seventh century. See Bethune-Baker *Christian Doctrine* p. 93.

1. **phantasiae**] 'preachers of illusion,' i.e. docetism, or the doctrine that Christ's body was not real flesh and blood but merely a phantom body (*δοκεῖν*). This doctrine was a special feature of most Gnostic sects and existed from the earliest times. See Epiphan. *Haer.* lxvi 49, *εἶτα πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς* (i.e. *ὁ Μανιχαῖος*) *διδάσκων φησὶν ὅτι...ἐλθὼν ὁ υἱὸς μετεσχημάτισεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀνθρώπου εἶδος, καὶ ἐφαίνετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπέλαβον αὐτὸν γεγεννῆσθαι.*

2. **substantiue**] I have kept this conjecture of Coster in the text in preference to substantiâ of Δ. The arbitrary alterations of this MS are too numerous. It is not unlikely that *-iue* was altered to *-iae* in an early exemplar.

ib. **actu put.**] like *actio* above, suggestive of the stage. Cf. Tertullian's criticism of the docetism of Marcion (*Adu. Marc.* iii 8): 'putatiuus habitus, putatiuus actus; imaginarius operator, imaginariae operae.'

6. **susciperet**] For this sequence of tenses, see p. 50 l. 14.

7. **prorsus quod**] 'As being the thing he acted and the person

quem agebat is esset; sicut ipsi nos quoque in eo quod loquimur sapimus uiuimus subsistimus, non imitamur homines sed sumus. Neque enim Petrus et Iohannes, ut eos potissimum nominem, imitando erant homines sed subsistendo. Neque item Paulus simulabat apostolum aut fingebat Paulum, sed erat apostolus et subsistebat Paulus. Ita etiam deus uerbum adsumendo et habendo carnem, loquendo faciendo patiendo per carnem—sine ulla tamen suae corruptione naturae—hoc omnino praestare dignatus est, ut hominem perfectum non imitaretur aut

1 quem agebat is esset] Γ (agebant) Δsb^{3}jr. quod agebat is esset Bp. omit. omnino Acb^{12}k.

whose character he sustained.' A tragedian who acted in the play *Henry VIII* would be neither a king nor Henry VIII, neither a Cardinal nor Wolsey, i.e. neither 'quod agebat' nor 'quem agebat.' But the Son of God was both *man* and *Jesus Christ*. This seems clearly to be the right reading and the meaning of V., though the passage has caused some difficulty both to copyists and to editors. Codex A left out the four words—hoc esset quem agebat—doubtless through inadvertence, skipping from one agebat to the other. Codex B repeats 'quod' in place of 'quem' and this reading was faithfully copied by Pithou (p) in spite of making but little sense. Codices Γ and Δ, I take it, are correct, save that Γ has 'agebant' in the second case for 'agebat,' but this is merely a clerical slip. Sichard reads 'etiam' in place of 'esset' which Baluze and Jülicher have kept, adding the necessary 'esset' as well.

3. **Iohannes**] See note on Petrus, p. 52 l. 1.

7. **adsumendo et hab. carnem**] This is the nearest approach in the Commonitorium to the phrase in the Quicumque: adsumptio humanitatis in Deo. The use of the phrase by the compiler of the symbolum renders it not improbable that the expression was familiar to the monks of Lerinum, especially as V. uses both *humanitas* and (of course) *adsumere* freely. Perhaps the reason why he shrinks from using the compound phrase 'adsumptio humanitatis' can be gathered from ch. XII ad fin. (p. 49 l. 10), where he is arguing against Nestorius and the theory that 'postea in eum (the man Christ) adsumentis uerbi persona descenderit et... aliquamdiu nihil inter illum et ceteros homines interfuisse uideatur.' I take it that he fears a Nestorian interpretation of the 'adsumptio humanitatis' if the humanity be not regarded as quite impersonal. It is to be noted, however, that Dr Swainson (*Hist. of the Creeds*, 1875) uses this as an argument for assigning a later date to the Quicumque, regarding the phrase as having been unnecessary in the time of V., but called forth later to meet Eutychianism.

9. **praestare**] 'perform,' 'accomplish,' cf. Cic. *De Or.* II 9. 38, 'munus suum p.'

fingeret sed exhiberet, ut homo uerus non uideretur aut putaretur, sed esset atque subsisteret. Igitur sicut anima conexa carni, nec in carnem tamen uersa, non imitatur hominem sed est homo, et homo non per simulationem sed per substantiam, ita etiam uerbum deus—absque ulla sui conuersione uniendo se homini, non confundendo—non imitando factus est homo sed subsistendo. Abiciatur ergo tota penitus personae illius intellegentia, quae fingendo imitatione suscipitur, ubi semper aliud est et aliud simulatur, ubi ille, qui agit, numquam is est, quem agit. Absit etenim, ut hoc fallaci modo deus uerbum personam hominis suscepisse credatur, sed ita potius, ut incommutabili sua manente substantia et in se perfecti hominis suscipiendo naturam ipse caro, ipse homo, ipse persona hominis exsisteret, non simulatoria sed uera, non imitatiua sed substantiua, non denique quae cum actione desisteret, sed quae prorsus in substantia permaneret.

Cap. XV.

Haec igitur in Christo personae unitas nequaquam post uirginis partum sed in ipso uirginis utero compacta atque

6 uniendo] ABΓΔcpbjr. ueniendo s. 11 personam hominis] ABΓΔspbjr. hominis personam ck.

6. **sui conuersione**] For this use of the personal pronoun for the possessive see p. 8 l. 4. Sui conu. =non in hominem uersus (cf. above: nec in carnem uersa). The soul does not turn into flesh but unites with it and forms one man; so God the Word did not turn into man, but united Himself with man, and so became man, retaining His divinity.

ib. **uniendo**] See Seneca *N.Q.* II ii 4, quoted by Goelzer *Lat. de S. Jérôme* p. 173,—see also Rönsch *Itala und Vulgata* p. 171.

8. **quae**] refers, of course, to persona.

16. **cum actione**] 'not such that it ceased when the performance was over.' For this absolute use of 'desisto,' see p. 56 l. 10.

XV. *This union of the Divine with the Human Nature in Christ took place not after His birth but in the very conception of the virgin. It is, therefore, right and proper to give her the title of 'mother of God' (theotocos), not as being the mother of one who afterwards became God, but as giving birth to one who already was God.*

18. **post uirginis partum**] So Nestorius was supposed to have maintained. But 'if the Son of God had taken to Himself a man

perfecta est. (21) Vehementer etenim praecauere debemus ut Christum non modo unum sed etiam semper unum confiteamur, quia intoleranda blasphemia est, ut etiamsi nunc eum unum iam esse concedas, aliquando tamen non unum sed duos fuisse contendas, unum scilicet post tempus baptismatis, duos uero sub tempore natiuitatis. Quod inmensum sacrilegium non aliter profecto uitare poterimus nisi unitum hominem deo, sed unitate personae, non ab adscensu uel resurrectione uel baptismo, sed iam in matre, iam in utero, iam denique in ipsa uirginali conceptione fateamur; propter quam personae unitatem indifferenter atque promiscue et quae dei sunt propria, tribuuntur homini, et quae carnis propria, adscribuntur deo. Inde

1 etenim] ABΓΔspjr. enim cbk. 4 unum iam esse] ABΓΔpb^{12} (et uide p. 63 l. 5). unum esse scb^{3}jr. 5 fuisse] ABΓscbjr. esse Δ. 8 sed unitate] ABΓΔspb^{3}jr. in unitate (omit. sed) ck. *ib.* ab adscensu] ABΓΔpbjr. adscensu (omit. ab) sc. 9 baptismo] ABΔscbjr. baptismatis Γ. 11 indifferenter] ABΓΔpbr. indifferenter ei scj.

now made and already perfected, it would of necessity follow that there are in Christ two persons, the one assuming and the other assumed, whereas the Son of God did not assume a man's person unto His own, but man's nature to His own Person.' Hooker *Eccl. Pol.* v 52 § 3.

8. **sed unitate**] 'united to God, yes and what is more, by unity of person.' For this characteristic and peculiar use of *sed*, see p. 3 l. 5 'sed tempus'; and p. 53 l. 9 'sed carnem ueram.'

10. **conceptione**] 'The flesh and the conjunction of the flesh with God began both at one instant. His making and taking to Himself our flesh was but one act, so that in Christ there is no personal subsistence but one, and that from everlasting. By taking only the nature of man He still continueth one person and changeth but the manner of His subsisting which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God and is now in the habit of our flesh.' Hooker *Eccl. Pol.* v 52 § 3.

12. **tribuuntur homini**] This is technically called: 'the partnership in properties' (communicatio idiomatum), which Hooker, loc. cit. § 4, calls 'cross and circulatory speeches, wherein there are attributed to God such things as belong to manhood and to man such as properly concern the Deity of Jesus Christ'; e.g. it does not matter whether we say that the Son of God has created the world and the Son of Man by His death has redeemed it, or that the Son of Man has created the world and the Son of God by His death has redeemed it. V. says that this interchange of properties is only rendered possible by the complete union of the humanity and divinity in

est enim quod diuinitus scriptus est et *filius hominis* descendisse de caelo et *dominus maiestatis* crucifixus in terra; inde etiam ut carne domini facta, carne domini creata, ipsum uerbum dei factum, ipsa sapientia dei impleta scientia

1 scriptus est] conieci. scriptum est ABΓΔscpbjr. *ib.* filius] ABΓΔ. filium scpbjr. 2 dominus] ABΓΔ. dominum scpbjr. *ib.* crucifixus] ABΓΔ. crucifixum scpbjr. 3 indè etiam] ABΓΔpr. inde etiam est cbj. inde et etiam est s.

Christ. Cf. Tert. *De Carne Christi* v, *Adu. Prax.* xxix, and Leo's Tome § 5. It is not unlikely that the phraseology both of Leo and of V., which is very similar in this particular, is, directly or indirectly, derived from Augustine. See his *Ep.* 187. 9.

1. **scriptus est**] 'Scriptum' of the MSS and the editio princeps (s), with filius following, makes the passage totally unintelligible, and all subsequent editors have thought that the error lay in the nominatives, *filius*, *dominus*, and *crucifixus*, which they have accordingly altered to the accusative. I believe that the mistake lies rather in *scriptum*, a mistake which possibly arose (i) from the common use of 'scriptum est' introducing a quotation; (ii) from the following word 'et' which looks as if it introduced a quotation, but is, of course, 'both'; (iii) and from the somewhat unusual use of 'scriptus est'=dicitur or dictus est. And note that the exact words of the passages alluded to are not used. Therefore 'scriptum est' is not appropriate. With *crucifixus* supply *esse*.

ib. **filius hominis**] John iii 13.

2. **dominus maiestatis**] 1 Cor. ii 8. It should be noticed in this passage that the phrase 'dominus maiestatis' is definitely Old Latin (so also *d*, *e*, Leo, etc.). Vg. 'dom. gloriae.' Presumably V., whose text in the Epistles was the Vg. (see Introd. § 6), was quoting not from his Bible but from a commonplace book or from something in the Church service, for he uses the same phrase again, p. 108 l. 3.

3. **carne dom. facta**] 'because the flesh of the Lord was made.'

4. **factum**] 'The very Word of God is said to have been made, the very omniscient Wisdom of God is said to have been created.' Cf. Eccli. xxiv 25, qui *implet* quasi Phison *sapientiam* (Swete, *O. T. Gr.* II[3] p. 693 ὁ πιμπλῶν ὡς Φισὼν σοφίαν). Most editors place a comma after impleta=fulfilled (Brunetière et de Lab. 'portée à son comble'). It seems clear, however, that there are two clauses, not three, construed with dicatur, balancing the two clauses 'carne dom. facta, carne dom. creata.' Scientia, then, is ablative after impleta. V. is apparently alluding here to the two famous texts, Heb. iii 2 and Prov. viii 22, and to the controversy which arose out of them viz., 'In what sense can it be said that Wisdom (Christ) is a creature?' See Feltoe's *Dionys. Alex.* p. 193 foll., Mason's *Greg. Naz.* p. 109 foll., and Schwane's *Dogmengesch.* II 109. V. sums up the controversy by saying that the words 'made' 'created' are only appropriate to the manhood of Christ, and are applied to the Divine Word only by interchange of properties.

creata dicatur, sicut in praescientia manus ipsius et pedes fossi esse referuntur. Per hanc, inquam, personae unitatem illud quoque similis mysterii ratione perfectum est, ut carne uerbi ex integra matre nascente ipse deus uerbum natus ex uirgine catholicissime credatur, impiissime denegetur. Quae cum ita sint, absit ut quisquam sanctam Mariam diuinae gratiae priuilegiis et speciali gloria fraudare conetur. Est enim singulari quodam domini ac dei nostri, filii autem sui, munere uerissime ac beatissime

1 praescientia] ABΓΔscb^{3}jr. praesentia pb^{12}. *ib.* manus ipsius et pedes] ABscpjr. manus et pedes eius Γ. manus et pedes ipsius Δ. manus ipsius et pedes eius b^3 (cf. Ps. xxi (xxii) 16, LXX χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας. Vg. manus meas et pedes meos). 3 perfectum] ABΓΔ spbjr. profectum c. 7 priuilegiis et] ABΓΔpbjr. priuilegiis ut sc. 8 dei nostri] (nr̃i) BΓΔcpbjr. dei non A(ñ)s.

1. **praescientia**] It was foreknown that He would have hands and feet and that they would be pierced, and therefore they are spoken of in Ps. xxi (xxii) 16 as having already been pierced.

3. **ratione**] 'in virtue of a like mystery.'

4. **integra**] 'virgin.'

5. **catholicissime**] This somewhat unusual superlative adverb is here used for the sake of antithesis with *impiissime*. See Introd. § 4.

6. **sanctam Mariam**] This passage is interesting as shewing the gradual tendency at this period towards a veneration of Mary. See Epiphan. *Haeres.* lxxix: ἡ Μαρία ἐν τιμῇ, ὁ Κύριος προσκυνείσθω. There is little doubt that opposition to Nestorianism was actuated (inter alia) by an incipient cultus of the B.V.M. Though the Nestorian controversy marked the most important turning point in the development of Mariolatry, yet it is not true that the giving of the title 'theotocos' was the cause of the cultus. The regular cultus began at the end of the fourth century (not earlier) and was partly due to exaggerated reverence for the ascetic life and celibacy, and partly to the great influx of pagans into the Church who brought with them their own ideas of the worship of demigods. The veneration of martyrs had already spread to such an extent that it was a natural step to place Mary at their head as queen of the Heavenly Host. After 431, however, and the Council of Ephesus, the veneration of Mary rapidly became a worship. Cyril, for example, could scarcely find predicates enough to express the transcendent glory of the Mother of God. Cf. Pearson *Creed* Art. III 179.

9. **filii autem**] 'Mary is to be called "mother of God" by reason of the special gift bestowed upon her by Him who is our Lord and God, but at the same time her own son.'

theotocos confitenda, sed non eo more theotocos quo impia quaedam haeresis suspicatur, quae adserit eam dei matrem sola adpellatione dicendam, quod eum scilicet pepererit hominem qui postea factus est deus, sicut dicimus presbyteri matrem aut episcopi matrem non iam presbyterum aut episcopum pariendo sed eum generando hominem qui postea presbyter uel episcopus factus est. Non ita, inquam, sancta Maria theotocos, sed ideo potius, quoniam, ut supra dictum est, iam in eius sacrato utero sacrosanctum illud mysterium perpetratum est, quod propter singularem quandam atque unicam personae unitatem, sicut uerbum in carne caro, ita homo in deo deus est.

Cap. XVI.

(22) Sed iam ea quae de supra memoratis haeresibus uel de catholica fide breuiter dicta sunt, renouandae causa memoriae breuius strictiusque repetamus, quo scilicet et

1 eo more] ABΓΔpr. eo modo scbj. 3 dicendam] AΓΔscbjr. dicenda B. *ib.* quod] ABΓΔpbr. quae scj. 4 pepererit] ABΓΔscbjr. peperit p. *ib.* dicimus] ABΓΔscbjr. scimus k Herz. et alii. 13 de supra] ABΓΔspjr. supra de cbk.

5. **iam presbyterum**] 'one who is *already* a priest': cf. p. 60 l. 4 'unum iam esse,' and p. 60 l. 9 'iam in matre, iam in utero.' For *pariendo* see p. 31 l. 8 note.

10. **mysterium**] 'was wrought that holy mystery, namely that, by reason of an absolute and unqualified unity of person, as the Word in flesh is flesh, so the Man in God is God.' Cf. the clause in the Quicumque: 'adsumptione humanitatis in Deo,' and see note p. 58 l. 7. Christ was not a combination of a God with a man, but God Himself for us and for our salvation condescended to become man, not ceasing to be what He was, when He became that which He was not.

ib. **singularem**] See note p. 54 l. 2.

XVI. *The excursus on the heresies of Photinus, Apollinaris and Nestorius concludes with a repetition of the true and catholic doctrine of the Trinity and of the person of Christ. Blessed is the Catholic Church which worships one God in the fulness of the Trinity, and an equality of the Trinity in one divinity; blessed too is the Catholic Church which confesses one Christ, not two, and the self-same both God and man.*

15. **memoriae**] For references to V.'s complaint of the weakness of his own memory see p. 3 l. 1, though here, as the words which follow shew, he may be thinking of others as well.

intellegantur iterata plenius et firmius inculcata teneantur. Anathema igitur Photino non recipiendo plenitudinem trinitatis et Christum hominem tantummodo solitarium praedicanti. Anathema Apollinari adserenti in Christo conuersae diuinitatis corruptionem et auferenti perfectae humanitatis proprietatem. Anathema Nestorio neganti ex uirgine deum natum, adserenti duos Christos, et explosa trinitatis fide quaternitatem nobis introducenti. Beata uero catholica ecclesia quae unum deum in trinitatis plenitudine et item trinitatis aequalitatem in una diuinitate ueneratur, ut neque singularitas substantiae personarum confundat proprietatem, neque item trinitatis distinctio unitatem separet deitatis. Beata, inquam, ecclesia, quae in Christo duas ueras perfectasque substantias sed unam Christi credit esse personam, ut neque naturarum distinctio unitatem personae diuidat, neque item personae unitas differentiam confundat substantiarum. Beata inquam, ecclesia, quae, ut unum semper Christum et esse et fuisse

2 recipiendo] ABΓΔ. recipienti scbjr. 13 deitatis] ABΓscpbjr. omit. Δ.

2. **Photino**] The dat. instead of the nominative with *anathema* is somewhat strange: anathema, = the curse of excommunication, is found occasionally in Augustine, e.g. *Ep.* lxxv, 'anathematis iniuria.' The usual construction follows the Hebrew and refers to the person cursed; 'Si quis..., anathema sit' (p. 33 l. 8).

ib. **recipiendo**] This reading of the MSS is possibly quite right and clearly shews the participial use of the gerund in later Latin = recipienti. See Rönsch *Itala und V.* p. 432. The strangeness here consists in its being coupled with the dat. participle *praedicanti*.

3. **solitarium**] 'mere' man (i.e. not divine). See note p. 46 l. 5.

5. **conuersae**] 'that the divinity in Christ is destroyed by conversion (into flesh).' Cf. Novatian *De Trin.* v: 'Ad corrumpendum deum ualere non possunt.' See note on 'conuersio,' p. 59 l. 6.

7. **explosa**] 'rejected.' See p. 25 l. 10.

12. **proprietatem**] 'the distinguishing characteristics.' See p. 54 l. 7.

ib. **distinctio**] has two meanings in this treatise. In this chapter it is used for 'differentia'; while in ch. XXIII (30) it is used for 'adornment' (p. 92 l. 6). Cf. Pliny, XXVIII 3. 3 § 13 'distinctio honosque ciuitatis.'

14. **substantias**] On the use of this word for 'natures,' see p. 47 l. 9, and see also Tixeront in *Dict. de Théologie catholique* under 'Athanase (Symbole d').'

fateatur, unitum hominem deo non post partum sed iam in ipso matris utero confitetur. Beata, inquam, ecclesia, quae deum factum hominem non conuersione naturae sed personae ratione intellegit, personae autem non simulatoriae et transeuntis sed substantiuae ac permanentis. Beata, inquam, ecclesia, quae hanc personae unitatem tantam uim habere praedicat, ut propter eam miro ineffabilique mysterio et diuina homini et deo adscribat humana; nam propter eam et hominem de caelo secundum deum descendisse non abnegat et deum secundum hominem credit in terra factum passum et crucifixum; propter eam denique et hominem dei filium et deum filium uirginis confitetur. Beata igitur ac ueneranda, benedicta et sacrosancta et omnino supernae illi angelorum laudationi comparanda confessio, quae unum dominum deum trina sanctificatione glorificat; idcirco etenim uel maxime unitatem Christi praedicat, ne mysterium trinitatis excedat. Haec in excursu dicta sint,

17 trinitatis] ABΓΔcbjr. trinitatem sp.

4. **personae ratione**] 'by way of person,' lit. by the method of person.

ib. **autem**] 'and that too, a person not feigned and transient.' For this use of *autem* 'but at the same time,' cf. the use of 'sed,' p. 3 l. 5.

8. **diuina homini**] 'ascribes divine attributes to man and human attributes to God.' On the 'communicatio idiomatum' or 'antidosis' see note p. 60 l. 12.

9. **hominem de caelo**] 'she does not deny that man as God came down from Heaven and believes that God as man was made, suffered and was crucified on earth.'

14. **laudationi**] generally known as the 'Sanctus,' i.e. 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts.' Is. vi 3; Apoc. iv 8; and cf. the Te Deum, though the Sanctus was in use in the liturgy long before the Te Deum was composed. See Passio Perpetuae 12.

ib. **confessio**] What *confessio* exactly does V. mean to put on a par with the Sanctus? Dr Burn (*Introd. to Creeds* p. 28) thinks that he refers to the Te Deum. Doubtless the antecedent to 'quae' is 'sup. illi laudationi,' but I take it that the word 'confessio' does not refer to any concrete expression in a document or hymn. V. is alluding to the confession of faith in the Trinity which has just been set forth in detail.

15. **trina sanct.**] 'with a threefold ascription of holiness.' (Heurtley *Post-Nicene Fathers.*)

16. **etenim**] serves to emphasize the 'trina.'—'I say threefold; for the very reason why the Church lays such stress on the unity of Christ is in order to keep the doctrine of the Trinity intact and not make a quaternity.'

alias, si deo placuerit, uberius tractanda et explicanda. Nunc ad propositum redeamus.

Cap. XVII.

(23) Dicebamus ergo in superioribus quod in ecclesia dei temptatio esset populi error magistri, et tanto maior temptatio quanto ipse esset doctior qui erraret. Quod primum scripturae auctoritate, deinde ecclesiasticis docebamus exemplis, eorum scilicet commemoratione, qui, cum aliquamdiu sanae fidei forent habiti, ad extremum tamen aut in alienam decidissent sectam aut ipsi suam haeresim condidissent. Magna profecto res et ad discendum utilis et ad recolendum necessaria, quam etiam atque

1 et] ABΓΔcpbjr. omittit s. 11 ad recolendum] ABΓΔscbjr. recolendum (omit. ad) p. *ib.* etiam atque etiam] AΓΔscbjr. etiam etiam B.

1. **alias**] Antelmi, who in A.D. 1693 ascribed the Quicumque to V. (*Noua de Symbolo Athanasiano Disquisitio*), thought that it was the fulfilment of the promise here made, but the words of V. point to a fuller and more explicit treatment of the subject, whereas in the Quicumque, though the subjects are the same, the treatment of them is much briefer and more concise than in these pages. It is doubtful if V. ever wrote anything after the Commonitorium. Gennadius in 490 clearly knew of nothing more, and this statement, that he would at some future date write a further exposition of the doctrine of the person of Christ and of the Trinity, is no proof that any such treatise was written. The words are rather a promise to himself than to others, and merely shew that he was deeply interested in the subject and left it with reluctance. See Introd. § 6.

XVII. *The evil results of ignoring the test of antiquity are clearly shewn in the case of Origen whose wonderful powers and indefatigable labours were fully recognized by the whole world. But his brilliant genius could not save him from the suspicion of heresy, nor his writings from becoming a source of temptation to others. However, it is possible, as some believe, that his books have been tampered with. Yet even so, his cited authority seems to have been the occasion of error.*

3. **in superioribus**] i.e. in cap. x (p. 37 l. 1).

8. **cum...habiti**] 'after having been regarded as orthodox.' His reason for singling out these great doctors of the Church as being not immune from the charge of heresy may be surmised. V. is indirectly attacking one who for goodness and learning has gained general esteem.

10. **ad disc. utilis et ad rec. necessaria**] A somewhat curious

etiam exemplorum molibus inlustrare atque inculcare debemus, ut omnes uere catholici nouerint, se cum ecclesia doctores recipere, non cum doctoribus ecclesiae fidem deserere debere. Sed ego ita arbitror, quod, cum multos in hoc temptandi genere proferre ualeamus, nemo paene sit, qui Origenis temptationi ualeat comparari, in quo plura adeo praeclara, adeo singularia, adeo mira exstiterunt, ut inter initia habendam cunctis adsertionibus eius fidem

2 uere] Δcbjr (uide p. 10 l. 7). fere ABΓsp.

expression, 'useful to learn and necessary to remember,' i.e. for future application. V. means that we must thoroughly realize and grasp the fact that the greatest doctor may err. If this had not been 'learnt' by experience, it might have been doubted.

1. **exemplorum molibus**] 'by numbers of instances.' For this use of *moles* which is not uncommon in V. see p. 76 l. 3 and Index III.

4. **arbitror quod**] with subj. instead of acc. and infin. See p. 7 l. 6 and Introd. § 4.

6. **Origenis**] There were, no doubt, many points in Origen's teaching which aroused opposition in his lifetime, such as his doctrine of the Trinity, his teaching on the Resurrection, and his ideas about the pre-existence of souls, etc.; but the exact grounds of his condemnation by Demetrius in A.D. 233 are not known. There are few sadder pages in Church History than the record of the Origenistic controversies which arose after his time. It was about the end of the fourth century that the storm of strife that turned upon various points of his teaching broke loose. (See art. 'Origenistische Streitigkeiten' in *Real-Encykl. für Protest. Theologie* XIV 489.) Though the controversy had a check after the Council of Chalcedon, yet the Origenist party in Palestine was not really suppressed till the sixth century. The tenets imputed to the Origenists in V.'s age were these:

(1) That the Son of God could not see the Father nor the Holy Ghost the Son.

(2) That the soul had sinned in a pre-existent state and the body was its prison.

(3) That the devil and the fallen spirits would one day repent.

(4) That the flesh would not rise again.

(5) That Adam and Eve had no bodies before the fall.

(6) That the 'terrestrial paradise' was spoken of allegorically.

(7) That the 'waters above the heavens' were angels, and those above and under the earth were evil spirits.

(8) That man by sinning effaced the image of God.

See Jerome *De uiris inlustr.* LIV, Bigg *Bampton Lectures*, and Bright *Age of the Fathers* II 49 foll. See also Fr. Diekamp *Die origenist. Streitigkeiten im 6. Jahrhundert*, Münster, 1899.

ib. **plura**] = multa, not uncommon in this sense, cf. Caes. *B.C.* III 52: plura castella Pomp. temptauerat.

quiuis ille facile iudicaret. Nam si uita facit auctoritatem, magna illi industria, magna pudicitia patientia tolerantia. Si genus uel eruditio, quid eo nobilius, qui primum in ea domo natus est, quae est inlustrata martyrio, deinde pro Christo non solum patre sed omni quoque facultate priuatus, tantum inter sanctae paupertatis profecit angustias, ut pro nomine dominicae confessionis saepius, ut ferunt, adfligeretur? Neque uero haec in illo sola erant, quae cuncta postea temptationi forent, sed tanta etiam uis ingenii, tam profundi, tam acris, tam elegantis, ut omnes paene multum longeque superaret, tanta doctrinae ac totius eruditionis magnificentia, ut pauca forent diuinae, paene fortasse nulla

1 quiuis ille] ABΓspbjr. quiuis (omit ille) Δck. 3 genus] ABΓΔscbjr. gens p. 5 quoque] AΓΔscbjr. omit. Bp. 11 superaret] ABΓΔpbjr. superarit sc. 12 diuinae] scbjr. diuina ABΓΔ. *ib.* paene fortasse] ABΓscpbjr. fortasse (omit. paene) Δ. *ib.* nulla] ABΓΔcpbjr. nullae s.

1. **quiuis ille**] This pleonastic use of *ille* after *quis*, *quiuis*, etc., is not uncommon in V.; cf. 'quis ille' p. 20 l. 2; 'quisquis ille' p. 32 l. 13, and see Index III under *ille*.

2. **magna pudicitia**] The fact that Origen took too literally our Lord's words, Matt. xix 12, was made the ground of an accusation and was adduced by Demetrius of Alexandria as a reason for not admitting him to the priesthood.

4. **martyrio**] i.e. of his father Leonidas A.D. 202. After the confiscation of his patrimony, Origen had to support his mother and six brothers and sisters by teaching literature, and yet he had time to 'make great headway' in spiritual knowledge and in profound study of the scriptures (Eus. *H.E.* VI 2. 12–15).

6. **pro nomine dom. conf.**] This is a strange phrase. It seems = 'nomine' in Tac. *Germ.* 8. 1, etc., i.e. 'on account of.' There seems no other instance of 'pro nomine' in late Latin.

7. **adfligeretur**] Origen suffered as a confessor in the Decian persecution in 250, was cast into prison and subjected to torture, viz., chains, the iron collar, and the rack, probably at Tyre, but his constancy baffled all the efforts of his enemies (see Eus. *H.E.* VI 39). Though threatened with the stake, he escaped with his life and did not die till some three years afterwards.

12. **pauca**] 'there were few things in divine philosophy, scarcely any perhaps in human philosophy, which he did not grasp.' Origen was very widely read in class. literature, maintaining that a thorough knowledge of non-Christian thought was most useful for a Christian teacher. Accordingly he had himself at an early age attended the lectures of Ammonius Saccas. 'Diuina' of the MSS for 'diuinae'

humanae philosophiae, quae non penitus adsequeretur; cuius scientiae cum graeca concederent, hebraea quoque elaborata sunt. Eloquentiam uero quid memorem, cuius fuit tam amoena tam lactea tam dulcis oratio, ut mihi ex ore ipsius non tam uerba quam mella quaedam fluxisse uideantur? Quae non ille persuasu difficilia disputandi uiribus elimpidauit? Quae factu ardua non ut facillima uiderentur effecit? Sed forsitan argumentorum tantummodo nexibus adsertiones suas texuit. Immo plane nemo umquam magistrorum fuit, qui pluribus diuinae legis uteretur exemplis. Sed, credo, pauca conscripsit. Nemo mortalium plura, ut mihi sua omnia non solum non perlegi

2 graeca] ABΓΔpbjr. graeci sc. *ib.* concederent] bjr. non cederent ABΓp. non crederent Δsc. 3 elaborata sunt] ABΓΔscbjr. elaborata sint p. 4 lactea] ABΓΔpbjr. laeta sc. 12 non solum non perlegi] ABΓΔcpbr. non solum perlegisse s. non solum perlegi (omit. non) j (coniecit, Rauschen haud scit an recte).

is doubtless due to the proximity of 'pauca,' and is an obvious error. See note p. 29 l. 11 on 'censurae,' for the confusion of -a and -ae in the codices.

2. **concederent**] This reading of Baluze, though supported by no MS, is very slightly altered from the reading of the three oldest codices, *con-* being substituted for *non*. Δ reads: 'Graeca non crederent,' which, though meaningless, is possibly what Sichard found in his MS, but he altered Graeca to Graeci without materially improving the sense. Coster, who inserted the same in his text, conjectured in the margin 'Graecia cederet' which is not far from the mark. The sense is, of course, that having mastered Greek literature he turned his attention to Hebrew too: cf. Jer. *De uiris inlustr.* LIV. Origen's knowledge, however, of Hebrew (being as Jerome says, 'contra aetatis gentisque suae naturam') never became very profound. See Bardenhewer *Gesch. der altkirchlichen Litteratur* Tom. II p. 85. Origen himself says (*Hom. in Num.* XIV 1; *in Gen.* XII 1) 'Aiunt ergo qui hebraicas litteras legunt.'

7. **elimpidauit**] =conlustrauit, i.e. 'illumined,' 'made clear.'

9. **nexibus**] 'but perhaps he only supported his statements by skilfully constructed arguments,' i.e. based them on logic and not on Scripture.

10. **diuinae legis**] See note p. 7 l. 10.

11. **credo**] The parenthetical use of *credo* is always ironical. Here it is used, like *forsitan* with indic., to introduce an imaginary objection, which is in accordance with the usage of V. elsewhere; see above l. 8 and often.

12. **sua**] See p. 37 l. 12.

ib. **perlegi**] Shorthand writers (*ταχύγραφοι*), we are told, used to take down Origen's lectures. Epiphanius (*Haer.* LXIV 63) says

sed ne inueniri quidem posse uideantur, cui ne quicquam ad scientiae instrumenta deesset, etiam plenitudo exabundauit aetatis. Sed forsitan discipulis parum felix. Quis umquam felicior? Nempe innumeri ex sinu suo doctores, innumeri sacerdotes confessores et martyres exstiterunt. Iam uero quanta apud omnes illius admiratio, quanta gloria, quanta gratia fuerit, quis exsequi ualeat? Quis non ad eum paulo religiosior ex ultimis mundi partibus aduolauit? Quis Christianorum non paene ut prophetam, quis philosophorum non ut magistrum ueneratus est? Quam autem non solum priuatae condicioni, sed ipsi quoque fuerit reuerendus imperio, declarant historiae, quae eum a matre Alexandri imperatoris accitum ferunt, caelestis utique

1 inueniri] BΓΔscpbjr. inuenire A. 13 caelestis utique] ABΓscbjr. utique caelestis Δ.

that in popular reports (ὃ ᾄδεται) no less than 6000 books were ascribed to him. Jerome (*Ep.* lxxxii § 7) denies this statement and brings down the number to a third of this, but even so he says; 'Quis nostrum potest tanta legere quanta ille conscripsit?' (*Ep. ad Pammach.* lxxxiv § 8). For a list of his works see Bardenhewer *Gesch. der altkirch. Litteratur* Tom. II p. 68.

1. **inueniri**] It is possible that this word is used in the sense of 'making a list' or 'verifying' one. Cf. Passio S. Philippi § iv (in Ruinart's *Acta Sincera*) 'uasa aliqua ab inuentorum numero... inuenta uero uasa tradi iussit.' *Inuentarium* is frequent in this sense (see Dirksen s.v.).

2. **plenitudo**] Origen was 68 years old when he died in 253.

4. **doctores**] Among these were Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Caesarea; Dionysius of Alexandria; Theognostus; Pierius; and Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

8. **aduolauit**] See Eus. *H.E.* VI 30: πολλοὶ προσῄεσαν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς μυρίοι φοιτηταὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἀπολιπόντες.

11. **priuatae condicioni**] Abstract for concrete, 'to people in private life,' opposed to 'imperio,' cf. beata successio p. 23 l. 2. For the use of 'imperium' for the 'court' cf. p. 40 l. 9.

12. **historiae**] What histories had V. access to? There is little doubt that he is here referring to Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* (Bk VI) as translated by Rufinus towards the end of the fourth century,—at least a generation before V. wrote.

ib. **matre Alexandri**] i.e. Iulia Mammaea, who was well disposed towards the Christians. On this famous visit of Origen to the Empress at Antioch, which took place about 218, see Eus. *H.E.* VI 21 and Bardenhewer op. cit. p. 79. During the reign of her son Alexander Severus (222–235) the Church had comparative peace and even received some signs of favour.

sapientiae merito, cuius et ille gratia et amore illa flagrabat. Sed et eiusdem epistulae testimonium perhibent quas ad Philippum imperatorem, qui primus Romanorum principum Christianus fuit, christiani magisterii auctoritate conscripsit. De cuius incredibili quadam scientia si quis referentibus nobis christianum non accipit testimonium, saltem testificantibus philosophis gentilem recipiat confessionem. Ait namque impius ille Porphyrius excitum se fama ipsius Alexandriam puerum fere perrexisse ibique eum uidisse iam senem sed plane talem tantumque qui arcem totius scientiae condidisset. Dies me citius defecerit quam ea

1 amore illa] ABΓΔspbjr. amore (omit. illa) c. 4 conscripsit] AΓΔscbjr. scribit B. 9 puerum fere] ABΓΔspbjr. fere puerum c. 11 condidisset] ABΓscpbjr. conscendisset Δ (et Cos. coniecit).

1. **merito**] = causa, i.e. 'for the sake of his divine wisdom.'

ib. **amore illa**] There is no evidence that Iulia Mammaea was actually a Christian, but she doubtless shared her son's desire to reconcile the best features of the various religions of the day. See Lampridius *Sev.* xxix.

3. **Philippum**] i.e. Philip the Arabian, a man of low parentage, who reigned A.D. 244–249. The letter of Origen to him, and a letter to his wife Severa, are referred to by Eusebius (*H.E.* VI 36), but they are not preserved, nor do we know what they contained. The authorities for the reign of this emperor are of the most meagre and conflicting character (see P. Allard *Histoire des Persécutions pendant la première moitié du III^e siècle* 3rd ed. 1905, p. 233). The report that he was the first Christian emperor is found also in Eusebius (*H.E.* VI 34), who says that he wished to join in the prayers of the Church at Easter, but was forbidden by the bishop till he had confessed and taken his place among the penitents, and that he willingly obeyed. Jerome (*De uiris inlustr.* liv) also makes the statement that he was the first Christian emperor. But it is probably a mere fiction. He may, however, have shewn himself favourably disposed to the Christians.

8. **Porphyrius**] See note p. 44 l. 7. A fragment of Porphyrius' description of Origen's genius and philosophical knowledge is quoted by Eus. VI 19, but it is doubtful if Porphyrius had as high an opinion of Origen's learning as V. would lead us to suppose.

10. **senem**] Porphyrius was born in 232 and Origen died in 253.

11. **condidisset**] The reading of Δ (conscendisset 'had scaled') is certainly rather tempting, and it had already occurred to the mind of Coster as an emendation: but it is possible that *condidisset* is right and that V. means; 'had built the citadel of universal knowledge' (cf. p. 66 l. 10). On the encyclopedic character of

quae in illo uiro praeclara exstiterunt uel ex minima saltem parte perstringam, quae tamen omnia non solum ad religionis gloriam sed etiam ad temptationis magnitudinem pertinebant. Quotus enim quisque tanti ingenii tantae doctrinae tantae gratiae uirum aut facile deponeret, ac non illa potius uteretur sententia, se cum Origene errare malle quam cum aliis uera sentire? Et quid plura? Eo res decidit ut tantae personae tanti doctoris tanti prophetae non *humana* aliqua sed, ut exitus docuit, nimium periculosa *temptatio* plurimos a fidei integritate deduceret. Quamobrem hic idem Origenes tantus ac talis, dum gratia dei insolentius abutitur, dum ingenio suo nimium indulget sibique satis credit, cum parui pendit antiquam christianae religionis simplicitatem, dum se plus cunctis sapere praesumit, dum ecclesiasticas traditiones et ueterum magisteria

5 uirum aut] ABΓΔspb^{3}jr. uirum a se cb^{12}. 6 illa potius] ABΓΔspb^{3}jr. potius illa ck. 9 humana] ABΓscbjr. una Δ. 11 hic idem] ABΓΔsjr. hic (omit. idem) cb. 13 cum parui] ABΓspbjr. dum parui Δck. 14 plus cunctis] ABΓscpbjr. cunctis plus Δ.

Origen's knowledge see Croiset *Histoire de la Littér. grecque* Tom. v p. 848 and Harnack *Gesch. der altchrist. Litt.* II 26–54.

5. **uirum aut**] It seems clear, as recent editors, e.g. Jülicher and Rauschen, have suggested, that the other clause introduced by *aut* has been omitted after *uirum* through homoeoteleuton in an early exemplar. Perhaps V. wrote something like 'aut errare crederet aut facile deponeret.' 'Deponeret' seems rather a curious word, but this usage is possibly derived from such expressions as 'deponere amicitias,' Cic. *Lael.* xxi 77. Cf. also Eph. iv 22 (Vg.) 'ueterem hominem deponere' (ἀποθέσθαι).

6. **cum Origene**] A reference to the famous saying: 'errare mehercule malo cum Platone quam cum istis uera sentire,' Cic. *Tusc. Quaes.* I 17. 39.

9. **humana...temptatio**] 1 Cor. x 13.

11. **dum gratia**] Causal. See note on p. 18 l. 1.

13. **cum parui**] Not parallel with the other causal clauses, as Δ and Coster imagined, but dependent on *credit*, i.e. 'trusting his own judgment in making light of —.'

14. **dum se plus**] 'He had the boldest confidence in the truth which he held, and the tenderest humility in regard of his own weakness.' Westcott in *D.C.B.* IV 139.

15. **eccl. traditiones**] So far from under-estimating or despising ecclesiastical traditions, Origen laid very great, almost excessive, stress on tradition. See *Contra Cels.* I 7 and VI 6 and *De Princ.* praef. (transl. by Rufinus) ch. ii 'Illa sola credenda est ueritas quae in nullo

contemnens quaedam scripturarum capitula nouo more interpretatur, meruit ut de se quoque ecclesiae dei diceretur: *Si surrexerit in medio tui propheta*, et paulo post: *non audies*, inquit, *uerba prophetae illius*, et item: *quia*, inquit, *temptat uos dominus deus uester, utrum diligatis eum an non.* Vere non solum temptatio sed etiam magna temptatio, deditam sibi atque in se pendentem ecclesiam admiratione ingenii scientiae eloquentiae conuersationis et gratiae, nihil de se suspicantem, nihil uerentem, subito a ueteri religione in nouam profanitatem sensim paulatimque traducere. Sed dicet aliquis, corruptos esse Origenis libros. Non resisto, quin potius et malo. Nam id a quibusdam et traditum et scriptum est, non catholicis tantum, uerum etiam

4 inquit temptat] ABΓΔspjr. temptat uos inquit cb³k. 9 nihil uerentem] ABΓΔpbjr. nihil se uerentem sc. 11 dicet] ABΓscbjr. dicit Δ. 13 uerum etiam] ABΓΔspbjr. sed etiam c.

ab ecclesiastica et apostolica discordat traditione.' Moreover he gives a clear exposition of what were acknowledged to be the doctrines held generally by the Church, corresponding in the main with the Apostles' Creed, in *De Princ.* praef.

1. **capitula**] Late Latin, 'division' or 'section.' Twice used by V. (i) of passages of Scripture generally (here), (ii) of a single text, p. 86 l. 8. The present is probably a reference to Origen's fondness for allegorical interpretation (nouo more interpretatur), by which it was said that he corrupted the sacred narrative: cf. Epiph. *Ancor.* liv (A.D. 374); *οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ περὶ παραδείσου ἀλληγοροῦσιν, ὡς ὁ Ὠριγένης ἠθέλησε φαντασίαν μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἀλήθειαν τῷ βίῳ συνεισενέγκασθαι.*

3. **si surrexerit**] Deut. xiii 1–3. See ch. x (15) p. 38 l. 1.

7. **deditam**] 'devoted,' not 'entrusted to his care.'

9. **de se**] 'entertaining no suspicions about him'; *de se* of course refers to Origen. Heurtley and Bindley are wrong in translating: 'having no suspicions *for herself*.'

11. **corruptos**] Jerome refers to this possibility but rejects it. 'Illud uero quod asserunt, a quibusdam haereticis et maleuolis hominibus libros esse uiolatos, quam ineptum sit, hinc probari potest.' *Ep. ad Pammach.* lxxxiv § 10 (Migne *P.L.* vol. 22, p. 751). Cf. also Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 1 6. Rufinus, on the other hand, contended that heretics, to support their own errors, had falsified Origen's text with interpolations. This view has, in recent days, been adopted by Vincenzi in a defence of Origen (*In s. Gregorii Nysseni et Origenis scripta et doctrinam noua recensio*, 4 vols. Rome, 1865). Rufinus himself, in his translations from the works of Origen, did not hesitate to tamper with them in the interests of orthodoxy.

haereticis. Sed illud est quod nunc debemus aduertere, etsi non ipsum, libros tamen sub nomine suo editos, magnae esse temptationi, qui multis blasphemiarum uulneribus scatentes non ut alieni sed quasi sui et leguntur et amantur; ut, etsi in errore concipiendo Origenis non fuit sensus, ad errorem tamen persuadendum Origenis auctoritas ualere uideatur.

Cap. XVIII.

(24) Sed et Tertulliani quoque eadem ratio est. Nam

1. **illud est**] V.'s argument is this: 'Even if we admit the possibility of the works of Origen having been tampered with, my original contention still holds good, that the greater the reputation of the teacher is, the more influence his works possess for good or ill.' It is perhaps the teaching of Augustine on predestination as developed (or exaggerated) by Prosper and his followers that V. has specially in mind.

2. **nomine suo**] See p. 37 l. 12 for this use of *suus*: cf. below l. 4 'quasi sui.'

4. **scatentes**] 'swarming with many blasphemous errors.' Vulnus is the wound, the defect *in* the book; not the effect on the reader as some have supposed, e.g. Brun. et de Labr. 'Ils fourmillent de blasphèmes meurtriers.'

XVIII. *Such too must be the judgment pronounced upon Tertullian—the greatest writer among the Latins, as Origen was among the Greeks. Of him Hilary has rightly remarked that by his errors he diminished the authority of his approved writings.*

8. **Tertulliani**] About midway in his life (202–207) he openly joined the sect of the Montanists (see note p. 77 l. 8) and began to attack the Catholic Church with a violence scarcely inferior to that which he had manifested against heathenism. This transition to Montanism, doubtless, had its origin in his eccentric disposition and rigorous moral views which predisposed him to regard that heresy with favour. Jerome attributes it to personal motives excited by the jealousy and envy of the Roman clergy, and some modern writers have ascribed it to disappointed ambition. We know, indeed, that the penitential discipline of the Church was administered at Rome with great laxity and that such indifference was an abomination in the eyes of T. For a list of his works see Harnack *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur* II 260–262. In views Tertullian may be regarded as the opposite of Origen, holding the extreme position of realism, on the borders of materialism. He was one of the leading representatives of the Puritanic element in the early Church and a determined advocate of strict discipline and an austere code of practice. These views led him to throw himself with all his heart and soul into Montanism with its ascetic rigour and its belief in the continuance of prophetic gifts. See Barden-

sicut ille apud Graecos, ita hic apud Latinos nostrorum omnium facile princeps iudicandus est. Quid enim hoc uiro doctius, quid in diuinis atque humanis rebus exercitatius? Nempe omnem philosophiam et cunctas philosophorum sectas, auctores adsertoresque sectarum omnesque eorum disciplinas, omnem historiarum ac studiorum uarietatem mira quadam mentis capacitate complexus est. Ingenio uero nonne tam graui ac uehementi excelluit ut nihil sibi paene ad expugnandum proposuerit, quod non aut acumine inruperit aut pondere eliserit? Iam porro orationis suae laudes quis exsequi ualeat? Quae tanta nescio qua rationum necessitate conserta est, ut ad consensum sui, quos suadere non potuerit, impellat; cuius, quot paene uerba, tot sententiae sunt, quot sensus, tot uictoriae. Sciunt hoc Marciones,

9 nihil sibi] ABΔscpjr. sibi nihil Γb. 13 potuerit] ABΓscbjr. poterit Δ.

hewer *Patrologie* (Eng. Trans.) § 50, pp. 157–167; and P. Monceaux *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* I, Tertullien, Paris, 1901.

1. **nostrorum**] sc. Christianorum.

12. **necessitate**] 'woven with such cogency of reasoning.' The arguments of T., as well as his phraseology, constantly shew the legal turn of his mind. Coster conjectured 'densitate' for the somewhat strange word 'necessitate,' but this emendation is not an improvement and has met with no approval among subsequent editors.

13. **consensum sui**] 'agreement with him.' For personal pronouns used instead of the possessive see p. 8 l. 4 and note, where the instances of this are collected.

ib. **quos**] As a matter of fact persuasion was not one of the arts of Tertullian. He paralysed his hearers and compelled their assent by his thunder. For the acc. after *suadere* see p. 42 l. 5.

14. **quot paene uerba**] 'Almost every word is an epigram and every sentence a victory.' A striking and memorable description of the sayings of Tertullian. V. seems to have borrowed this expression from Jerome *Ep.* xlviii § 13 (Migne *P.L.* XXII 502) 'Legite Platonem, Theophrastum...quae uerba non sensuum (?sensus)? qui sensus non uictoriae?'

15. **sciunt hoc**] A favourite figure with Tert. himself (see Lupton's index to the *De Baptismo*).

ib. **Marciones**] Tertullian's work *Aduersus Marcionem* consists of five books (Migne *P.L.* II pp. 239–524) and is pre-eminent among the writings of T. against individual heretics.

Apelles, Praxeae, Hermogenes, Iudaei, gentiles, gnostici ceterique, quorum ille blasphemias multis ac magnis uoluminum suorum molibus uelut quibusdam fulminibus euertit. Et tamen hic quoque post haec omnia, hic, inquam, Tertullianus, catholici dogmatis, id est, uniuer-

In the first two books he refutes Marcion's doctrine of a good God and a creator-God, the latter at once just and wicked. In the third book he proves that the historical Christ is the Messias foretold in the O.T. The two remaining books are a critical discussion of the N.T. according to Marcion. In the fourth book he discusses the 'euangelium' and in the fifth the 'apostolicum' of Marcion.

1. **Apelles**] Apelles was the most prominent among Marcion's disciples. Tertullian's work *Aduersus Apelliacos* is now lost, but the *De Carne Christi* is a polemical work against the Gnostic docetism of Marcion, Apelles, Valentinus and Alexander, to prove that the body of Christ was a real human body taken from the virgin body of Mary. Harnack has attempted to reconstruct the *Adu. Apell.* in his *De Apellis gnosis monarchia.*

ibid. **Praxeae**] Tertullian's treatise *Aduersus Praxean* (see the edition of E. Kroymann, Tübingen, 1907) defends the teaching of the Church concerning the Trinity against Patripassian monarchianism.

ib. **Hermogenes**] Tertullian wrote two treatises against H. in 206 or 207. One of these,—the only one now extant,—is our chief source of information about him. He was still living when Tertullian wrote his treatises and was a painter by profession, but we know nothing of his later history. The treatise *Aduersus Hermogenem* is an attack on the dualism of the Gnostics. In it Tert. uses philosophical and scriptural arguments to combat the theory that God had not created the world, but fashioned it out of matter that existed from all eternity. The second tract against Hermogenes *De Causa Animae* is now lost.

ib. **Iudaei**] Tertullian's treatise *Aduersus Iudaeos* was called forth, as the opening words shew, by a discussion between a Christian and a Jewish proselyte, and was written to prove that the grace of God, voluntarily rejected by Israel, has been offered to the Gentiles. The last chapters (ix–xiv) which deal with the Messianic office of Jesus, are clearly an unskilful excerpt from the third book of T.'s *Adu. Marcionem.* Probably T. left the work incomplete and the last chapters were compiled by a later hand.

ib. **gentiles**] V. is referring to the treatise of Tertullian *Ad Nationes* in two books, to his *Apologeticum* and to his *De Idololatria.*

ib. **gnostici**] Tertullian wrote several treatises against the Gnostics. One of these, entitled *Aduersus Gnosticos Scorpiace,* likens the Gnostics to scorpions, against whose bite it professes to be an antidote. It is largely taken up with declaring the moral worth and meritorious nature of martyrdom. The docetic views of the Gnostics were combated by Tertullian in two treatises, *De Carne Christi* and *De Resurrectione Carnis.*

salis ac uetustae fidei parum tenax, ac disertior multo quam fidelior, mutata deinceps sententia fecit ad extremum, quod de eo beatus confessor Hilarius quodam loco scribit: *Sequenti*, inquit, *errore detraxit scriptis probabilibus auctoritatem;* et fuit ipse quoque in ecclesia magna temptatio. Sed de hoc nolo plura dicere. Hoc tantum commemorabo quod contra Moysei praeceptum exsurgentes in ecclesia nouellas Montani furias et insana illa

1 disertior] cbjr. desertior ABΓ. dissertior s. dessertior Δ. 2 fidelior] ABΓΔpb^{12}r. felicior scb^{3}j. 4 scribit] ABΓscbjr. scripsit Δ. 7 exsurgentes] ABΓΔscbjr. exurgentis p.

2. **fidelior**] The reading of the MS used by Sichard in the editio princeps (s) seems to have been 'felicior,' and this has been adopted by others, e.g. Baluze and Jülicher. It can, however, scarcely be looked upon with favour. There is, moreover, no sufficient reason for departing from the MS authority which we possess. Tertullian proved unfaithful to his trust as a teacher of the Church.

3. **quodam loco**] Hil. *Comm. in Matt.* v 1 (Migne *P.L.* vol. IX, p. 943).

7. **quod**] Though V. frequently uses *quod* with the subj. for the accus. and infin. after a verb of saying, this is the only place where he uses *quod* with the indic. See p. 7 l. 6.

8. **Montani**] Montanus, the supposed founder of the sect of Montanists or Cataphrygians, is said to have been a Phrygian by birth, who appeared publicly about A.D. 170 bringing to Christianity all the fanatical enthusiasm for which his countrymen were noted. According to some ancient writers, Montanus was believed by his followers to be the Paraclete. This was an exaggeration, but he claimed divine inspiration for himself and his associates. They delivered their prophecies in an ecstasy. His principal associates were two prophetesses named Prisca, or Priscilla, and Maximilla. Schwegler (*Der Montanismus u. die christliche Kirche des zweiten Jahrh.*, Tübingen, 1841) insists that there is nothing of historical value in the life of Montanus at our command, and believes that the person Montanus is of no significance in the examination and elucidation of what is known as Montanism. He even goes so far as to doubt the historical existence of this apocryphal character. Other writers, however, Kaye, Bonwetsch, etc., deal more definitely with Montanus as a historical personage. Montanism embodied all the ascetic and rigoristic elements of the Church of the second century, encouraging fasting, exalting celibacy, and forbidding second marriage. Its main doctrines, however, seem to have been in general agreement with the Catholic Church of that period except in its views of the continuance of prophecy. Hence its title 'Noua Prophetia.' There was no heresy in maintaining that χαρίσματα had not ceased in the Church, but there

insanarum mulierum nouicii dogmatis somnia ueras prophetias adseuerando meruit ut de se quoque et scripturis suis diceretur: *Si surrexerit in medio tui propheta*, et mox: *non audies uerba prophetae illius.* Quare? *quia*, inquit, *temptat uos dominus uester, utrum diligatis eum an non.*

CAP. XIX.

His igitur tot ac tantis ceterisque eiusmodi ecclesiasticorum exemplorum molibus euidenter aduertere et secundum Deuteronomii leges luce clarius intellegere debemus, quod, si quando aliquis ecclesiasticus magister a fide aberrauerit, ad temptationem id nostram fieri prouidentia diuina patiatur, *utrum diligamus deum an non in toto corde et in tota anima nostra.*

3 surrexerit] ΓΔscjr. surrexit ABp. 4 inquit] AΓΔscbjr. omit. Bp. 5 dominus] ABΓΔspjr. dominus deus cbk.

was heresy in the doctrine that these χαρίσματα introduced a new dispensation superior to that of Christ and His apostles, and that Christ had bequeathed to His Church an insufficient code of morality that needed supplementing by the Paraclete of Montanus. Though primarily a phenomenon of the Church of Asia Minor, Montanism spread to the West with a suppression of its ecstatic features, but with emphasis on its ethical requirements. The best single work on Montanism is that of Bonwetsch *Die Geschichte des Montanismus*, Erlangen, 1881.

2. **adseuerando**] See note on 'circumferendo' p. 31 l. 8; 'asserting that the dreams...were real prophecies.'

3. **diceretur**] Cf. p. 73 l. 2 where 'ecclesiae dei' is added.

ib. **si surrexerit**] Deut. xiii 1–3. See note p. 38 l. 1. Elsewhere V. inserts *deus* after *dominus* with the Vg. Doubtless its omission here is due to a slip or it may have been done intentionally for variety's sake as the quot. has been repeated so often.

XIX. *From the foregoing we must learn that Divine Providence suffers us to be tempted to error from time to time by our teachers to test us whether we love God or not with all our heart.*

7. **exemplorum**] This brief chapter sums up what has been said in chapters XVII and XVIII about Origen and Tertullian with the hint that we must apply the same test to any other great teacher.

8. **Deut. leges**] 'the precepts laid down in Deuteronomy,' i.e. Deut. xiii 1–3 already quoted. In one passage V. uses *lex* of the Pentateuch (p. 109 l. 5). Elsewhere it is a synonym for the Bible generally, see note p. 71. 10.

9. **quod**] with subj. after *intellegere* instead of acc. and infin. See p. 7 l. 6.

10. **fide**] See note on *fides* in V., below, p. 97 l. 8.

11. **utrum**] Deut. xiii 3.

CAP. XX.

(25) Quae cum ita sint, ille est uerus et germanus catholicus, qui ueritatem dei, qui ecclesiam, qui Christi corpus diligit, qui diuinae religioni, qui catholicae fidei nihil praeponit, non hominis cuiuspiam auctoritatem, non amorem, non ingenium, non eloquentiam, non philosophiam, sed haec cuncta despiciens et in fide fixus, stabilis permanens, quicquid uniuersaliter antiquitus ecclesiam catholicam tenuisse cognouerit, id solum sibi tenendum credendumque decernit, quicquid uero ab aliquo deinceps uno praeter omnes uel contra omnes sanctos nouum et inauditum

2 catholicus] cjr. et catholicus ABΓΔspb. 6 fixus stabilis] ABΓΔspb³jr. fixus et stabilis cb¹². 10 uel contra omnes] AΓΔscbjr. omit. omnino B.

XX. *The true and genuine Catholic is one who loves Christ's body, the Church, and puts God's truth before all things, before the authority of any person, before affection, genius, eloquence or philosophy. Those who abandon catholic truth for new and heretical opinions are either poisoned outright, or else struggle on in a wretched and painful condition, half-living and half-dead.*

1. **germanus cath.**] The omission of *et* between these two words seems clearly necessary, the MS evidence notwithstanding. *Catholicus* is used frequently as a substantive by V., and *germanus* is pointless except as an epithet of this word. Moreover, *uere* is used several times in conjunction with the adjective *catholicus*, e.g. p. 10 l. 7 uere catholicum; p. 67 l. 2 uere catholici; therefore *uerus* used with *catholicus* (subs.) is natural. For the substantival use of *catholicus* see p. 24 l. 3; p. 36 l. 3; p. 73 l. 13 and often.

2. **Christi corpus**] i.e. the Church, cf. Eph. i 23 (Vg.) 'ecclesiae quae est corpus ipsius.'

6. **stabilis**] Either (i) taken with *fixus* (asyndeton) 'remaining firm and stedfast in the faith,' or (ii) taken with *permanens* 'stedfast in the faith, remaining immovable.' Perhaps (i) is better.

9. **deinceps**] If this means 'on the other hand' it is somewhat out of place. Its position between *aliquo* and *uno* seems to imply that V. intended it to be joined to *subinduci* i.e. 'subsequently,' as contrasted with *antiquitus*, as *ab aliquo uno* is with *uniuersaliter*. Cf. *deinceps* on p. 77 l. 2.

ib. **praeter omn. uel contra omn.**] 'in addition to or contrary to (the faith of) all the saints': *praeter* refers to the introduction of novelties, *contra* to the alteration of existing doctrine: see also below, p. 115 l. 11.

10. **sanctos**] Used frequently by V. for 'orthodox Christians' as opposed to 'heretics'; cf. p. 17 l. 3, p. 27 l. 5, p. 40 l. 11 etc.

subinduci senserit, id non ad religionem sed ad temptationem potius intellegit pertinere, tum praecipue beati apostoli Pauli eruditus eloquiis. Hoc est enim quod in prima ad Corinthios scribit: *Oportet,* inquit, *et haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant in uobis;* ac si diceret: Ob hoc, inquit, haereseon non statim diuinitus eradicantur auctores, ut probati manifesti fiant, id est: ut unusquisque quam tenax et fidelis et fixus catholicae fidei sit amator, adpareat.

Et reuera cum quaeque nouitas ebullit, statim cernitur frumentorum grauitas et leuitas palearum; tunc sine magno molimine excutitur ab area, quod nullo pondere intra aream tenebatur. Namque alii ilico prorsus perauolant,

2 intellegit] Ab^{3}jr. intelleget BΓΔp. intellegat scb^{12}. 3 in prima] ABΓΔscpjr. in prima epistula b. 6 ob hoc inquit] BΓΔsp. omit. omnino A. ob hoc (omit. inquit) cbjr. 7 ut unusquisque] ABΓΔpb^{3}jr. unusquisque (omit. ut) scb^{12}. 13 perauolant] ABΓΔpr. auolant cbj. auolat s.

Perhaps this usage can be traced to the Epistles of S. Paul. For V.'s own explanation of the word see p. 117 l. 12 'ecclesiis sanctorum...quae ideo sanctae sunt quia in fidei communione persistunt.'

2. **tum praecipue**] a somewhat uncommon turn; 'especially when he is instructed.'

3. **eloquiis**] see note p. 8 l. 5.

4. **oportet**] 1 Cor. xi 19 (Vg. qui probati sunt). Supposed by some to be an agraphon of our Lord. See Justin Martyr *Dial.* 35.

6. **ob hoc, inquit**] It seems, at first sight, as if *inquit* were out of place here, but the evidence in favour of it is very strong. The omission of the three words 'ob hoc inquit' in A is apparently an oversight. V. frequently inserts a redundant *inquit,* even where the quotation is introduced by *dixit* or *scribit*; cf. p. 32 l. 13, p. 33 l. 10, p. 38 l. 1, and esp. p. 107 l. 10, and p. 108 l. 14.

10. **ebullit**] 'bursts forth,' lit. comes bubbling up (bulla), used of boiling liquids; and it implies stir and excitement. The word is used again similarly of haeresis p. 98 l. 14.

11. **leuitas palearum**] 'the lightness of the chaff.' This metaphor applied to heretics is clearly derived from Matt. iii 12. Cf. also Tert. *De Fuga*: 'Haec (i.e. persecution) pala illa quae et nunc dominicam aream purgat, ecclesiam scilicet, confusum aceruum fidelium euentilans et decernens frumentum martyrum et paleas negatorum.'

13. **perauolant**] This word appears to be unregistered in the lexicons, but many words with *per-* occur only once so far as we know, and V. affects compounds with *per-, perstringere, pertimescere, pertractare,* etc. See Index III.

alii uero, tantummodo excussi, et perire metuunt et redire erubescunt, saucii, semineces ac semiuiui, quippe qui tantam ueneni hauserint quantitatem, quae nec occidat nec digeratur, nec mori cogat nec uiuere sinat. Heu miseranda condicio! Quantis illi curarum aestibus, quantis turbinibus exagitantur! Nunc etenim, qua uentus impulerit, incitato errore rapiuntur; nunc in semetipsos reuersi tamquam contrarii fluctus reliduntur; nunc temeraria praesumptione et ea quae incerta uidentur adprobant, nunc inrationali metu etiam quae certa sunt expauescunt: incerti qua eant, qua redeant, quid adpetant, quid fugiant, quid teneant, quid dimittant. Quae quidem dubii et male penduli cordis adflictio diuinae erga se miserationis est medicina, si sapiant. Idcirco etenim extra tutissimum

1 excussi] AΓΔscbjr. excusi Bp. 2 ac semiuiui] ABΓΔ spbjr. semiuiui (omit. ac) c. 3 tantam] Δscbjr. tantum ABΓ. 9 et ea] ABΓΔspbjr. ea (omit. et) ck Herzog. 10 sunt] ABΓΔ cpbjr. sint s. 13 diuinae] cbjr. diuina ABΓΔsp.

1. **excussi**] carries on the metaphor of the threshing-floor; i.e. 'only shaken out (of the husk and not blown away).' Cf. p. 82 l. 2 excussa in altum (of sails), 'shaken out aloft.' V. however is apparently thinking more of the people than of the corn in his metaphor. These persons may eventually settle down again into being good Catholics; but for the moment they have lost their hold. They do not fly off at once like the others; but they are grievously shaken.

2. **erubescunt**] The original metaphor is now forgotten, and V. passes immediately to another.

4. **digeratur**] = concoquitur, i.e. 'cannot be digested.' Those who espouse a heresy are, as it were, poisoned outright. Those who listen to it with favour take in some of the venom, which cannot be shaken off, but leaves the hearers in a dazed state, so that they know not what to follow.

8. **contrarii fluctus**] Again the metaphor is changed. 'Like contrary waves they are thrown back upon themselves and are dashed in pieces.' It is only in modern literature that we find scrupulous care to continue one metaphor to the end and to avoid mixed metaphors.

13. **diuinae**] Though 'diuina' is so strongly supported, the rhythm seems to demand 'diuinae' agreeing with 'miserationis' as a constituent or defining genitive. Nothing was easier in 'continua scripta' than to write the *e* once where it should be twice (see note on 'censurae' p. 29 l. 11). At the same time 'diuina' would stand, —'the divine medicine of pity towards them,' i.e. the divine medicine sent in pity.

catholicae fidei portum diuersis cogitationum quatiuntur uerberantur ac paene enecantur procellis, ut excussa in altum elatae mentis uela deponant, quae male nouitatum uentis expanderant, seseque intra fidissimam stationem placidae ac bonae matris reducant et teneant, atque amaros illos turbulentosque errorum fluctus primitus reuomant, ut possint deinceps *uiuae* et *salientis aquae* fluenta potare. Dediscant bene quod didicerant non bene, et ex toto ecclesiae dogmate, quod intellectu capi potest, capiant, quod non potest, credant.

CAP. XXI.

(26) Quae cum ita sint, iterum atque iterum eadem mecum reuoluens et reputans, mirari satis nequeo tantam quorundam hominum uesaniam, tantam excaecatae mentis impietatem, tantam postremo errandi libidinem, ut contenti non sint tradita et recepta semel antiquitus credendi

2 enecantur] ABΓΔpbjr. necantur sc. 8 didicerant] ABΓΔspbjr. didicerunt c 15 tradita et recepta semel] ABΓΔspjr. tradita semel et accepta cb.

1. **portum**] This imaginative and beautiful passage shews well the genius of V. It needs the orator to speak of the calm harbour, guarded by the strong breakwater of Catholic faith, within which the soul is at peace, while without are storms, raging winds and rough waves; cf. p. 5 l. 1 and p. 14 l. 9. Hence Dr Burn (*Texts and Studies*, vol. IV no. 1 'Ath. Creed,' 1896) calls V. a 'poet-theologian.'

2. **excussa**] See note p. 81 l. 1.

5. **matris**] i.e. ecclesiae, cf. 'matris ecclesiae filii' p. 111 l. 5 and p. 135 l. 10.

7. **uiuae**] Cf. John iv 10 and 14.

9. **intellectu**] 'grasped by understanding.' Cf. Hil. *De Trin.* I 8 'Tantum eum esse... quantus et intellegi non potest et potest credi.' Aug. *De Trin.* VII fin. 'Quod si intellectu capi non potest, fide teneatur.'

XXI. *Various passages of Holy Scripture forbid us to add to, change or take away from the accepted faith. To ignore these warnings and particularly the words of St Paul to Timothy* (1 Tim. vi 20, 21) *is surely a mark of the most adamantine effrontery.*

13. **hominum**] The bitterness which V. here displays seems to be directed against contemporaries of his, and not against bygone heretics nor against heretics in general.

15. **tradita**] 'the rule of faith handed down and received once for all in times of old.' The order of these words in the editions of Coster and Baluze is unnecessarily changed to make 'semel'

regula, sed noua ac noua de die in diem quaerant, semperque aliquid gestiant religioni addere mutare detrahere; quasi non caeleste dogma sit, quod semel reuelatum esse sufficiat, sed terrena institutio, quae aliter perfici nisi adsidua emendatione, immo potius reprehensione, non posset, cum diuina clament oracula: *Ne transferas terminos quos posuerunt patres tui;* et: *Super iudicantem ne iudices;* et: *Scindentem sepem mordebit eum serpens;* et illud apostolicum quo omnes omnium haereseon sceleratae nouitates uelut quodam spiritali gladio saepe truncatae semperque truncandae sunt: *O Timothee, depositum*

1 de die in diem] Aj. in diem (omit. de die) BΓΔscpbr. 5 posset] ABΓΔscpjr. possit bk etc.

go with 'tradita' and 'antiquitus' with 'accepta' (for recepta).

2. **mutare**] The construction here is rather loose and unlike V.'s style, which is, for the most part, careful and classical.

4. **institutio**] used here in the sense of 'teaching.' Cf. Cic. *de Or.* II 1, 1.

5. **reprehensione**] 'adverse criticism' which is utterly destructive of existing doctrine, opposed to 'emendatione' which merely corrects.

ib. **posset**] Similar violation of the usual sequence of tenses is found twice more in this treatise, p. 50 l. 14 and p. 57 l. 6. See Introd. § 4.

6. **oracula**] Used of Biblical texts three times by V.; cf. p. 26 l. 4 and p. 104 l. 1. See Rom. iii 2, where λόγια seems to mean the whole O.T. and in particular the divine utterances in it.

ib. **ne transferas**] Prov. xxii 28. Quoted from one of the O.L. versions in vogue before Jerome's translation was made (cf. p. 2 l. 1 and the long quot. p. 85 l. 16). LXX reads, *μὴ μέταιρε ὅρια αἰώνια ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέρες σου.* The Vg. has 'ne transgrediaris.' V. is here appealing to scriptural texts in support of his conviction that tradition must not be overridden or set aside by individual teachers, however weighty their opinion may be. For a discussion of the value of tradition see § 3 Introd.

7. **super iudicantem**] Ecclus. viii 14. Whom does V. regard as the iudicantem in this case? He means doubtless the voice of Antiquity—the consensus of the patres just referred to.

8. **scindentem**] Eccles. x 8. V. used the O.L. version of this book as well as of Proverbs. LXX *καθαιροῦντα φραγμὸν δήξεται αὐτὸν ὄφις.* Vg. qui *dissipat* sepem, mordebit eum *coluber*. Ambros. *de Instit.* quotes: 'destruentem sepem, mordebit serpens.' The application of this passage is: one who breaks down the hedge of tradition round the Catholic Church must fall into trouble through heresy.

10. **truncatae**] Post-Augustan, 'hewn in pieces.'

11. **O Timothee**] 1 Tim. vi 20. Vg.

ib. **depositum**] lit. 'a deposit lodged with a banker' = *παρα-*

custodi, deuitans profanas uocum nouitates et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae, quam quidam promittentes circa fidem exciderunt. Et post haec inueniuntur aliqui tanta inueteratae frontis duritia, tanta impudentiae incude, tanto adamante pertinaciae, qui tantis eloquiorum caelestium molibus non succumbant, tantis ponderibus non fatiscant, tantis malleis non conquassentur, tantis postremo fulminibus non conterantur. *Deuita,* inquit, *profanas uocum nouitates.* Non dixit, antiquitates; non dixit, uetustates; immo plane, quid e contrario sequeretur ostendit. Nam si uitanda est nouitas, tenenda est antiquitas, et si profana est nouitas, sacrata est uetustas. *Et oppositiones,* inquit,

4 tanto adamante] ABΓΔpbjr. tam adamantinae sc.

θήκη. The doctrines of the Church are a 'trust' handed down to us by those who went before, to be handed on by us in turn unaltered to those who come after. This text is V.'s chief biblical argument for his theory of tradition. To the question—'Who at this day is Timothy?' he gives the answer in the next chapter (p. 86 l. 12) 'either generally the whole Church, or especially, the whole body of prelates.' See Introd. § 3.

4. **incude**] 'such anvil-like (i.e. stubborn) effrontery, such invincible obstinacy.' The metaphor of 'incude' is carried on in 'malleis.' It scarcely seems necessary to justify the noun 'adamante.' The metaphorical use of adamas even in classical literature, the MS evidence, and the need of an ablative to balance 'incude,' are all opposed to the harsh and sudden change to the genitive 'adamantinae' of Sichard.

9. **nouitates**] The correct reading in the Greek here is *κενοφωνίας*, i.e. 'babblings,' 'empty-talkings,' for which the Latin rendering would be uaniloquia or inaniloquia; nouitates is of course a translation of *καινοφωνίας* which is only read by G and one or two minor Greek MSS. The translation nouitates, however, is found in all the Latin versions, Tert. Iren.lat. Hil. Lucif. Ambst. It was also the Armenian reading and that of Epiphanius, Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The error is due to the fact that *αι* and *ε* had been for some time interchangeable in Greek MSS, an example of so-called 'itacism.' The two sounds were identical in the early Christian era.

10. **quid...sequeretur**] 'What on the contrary he should follow.' Timothy has been told what to avoid and therefore he has been virtually shewn what to follow, viz. antiquity. This seems better, as the next words prove, than to translate with Heurtley and Bindley: 'He plainly points to what ought to follow by rule of contrary.'

12. **oppositiones**] = *ἀντιθέσεις*. Probably not an allusion to any special heresy such as the Marcionite 'oppositiones' be-

falsi nominis scientiae. Vere falsum nomen apud doctrinas haereticorum, ut ignorantia scientiae et caligo serenitatis et tenebrae luminis adpellatione fucentur. *Quam quidam,* inquit, *promittentes circa fidem exciderunt.* Quid promittentes exciderunt, nisi nouam nescio quam ignoratamque doctrinam?

Audias etenim quosdam ipsorum dicere: Venite, o insipientes et miseri, qui uolgo catholici uocitamini, et discite fidem ueram, quam praeter nos nullus intellegit, quae multis ante saeculis latuit, nuper uero reuelata et ostensa est. Sed discite furtim atque secretim, delectabit enim uos; et item, cum didiceritis, latenter docete, ne mundus audiat, ne ecclesia sciat; paucis namque concessum est tanti mysterii capere secretum. Nonne haec uerba sunt illius meretricis, quae apud Solomonis Prouerbia *uocat ad se praetereuntes uiam, qui dirigunt iter suum*?

4 quid promittentes exciderunt] omittit omnino B. 7 o insipientes et miseri qui uolgo] omittunt ΓΔ. 13 ne ecclesia] ABΓΔ scpjr. nec ecclesia] c (edit. recent.) bk. 15 Solomonis] ABscpjr. Salomonis] ΓΔb.

tween the Law and the Gospel, but generally the positions and teachings of false knowledge which arrayed itself against the doctrine committed to Timothy.

1. **f. n. scientiae**] = *τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως.* It is now generally admitted that this famous phrase was used by St Paul in reference to that false teaching, which taking its rise from a Jewish or Cabbalistic philosophy (Col. ii 8) already bore within it the seeds of subsequent heresies and was preparing the way for the definite 'gnosticism' of the second century. But see Hort *Judaistic Christianity* p. 138 foll.

ib. **apud**] 'as applied to.'

7. **uenite**] V. already has in view the words of Proverbs, of which these are a parody. He here applies his canon; '*ubique* is tacitly contrasted with 'praeter nos nullus'; '*semper*' with 'quae multis...ostensa est'; '*ab omnibus*' with 'sed discite...capere secretum.'

16. **uocat ad se**] Prov. ix 15–18. This is a literal transl. of the LXX; *προσκαλουμένη τοὺς παριόντας καὶ κατευθύνοντας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν·* (16) *ὃς ἐστιν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος, ἐκκλινάτω πρὸς μέ, καὶ τοῖς ἐνδεέσι φρονήσεως παρακελεύομαι λέγουσα,* (17) *Ἄρτων κρυφίων ἡδέως ἄψασθε, καὶ ὕδατος κλοπῆς γλυκεροῦ,* (18) *ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι γηγενεῖς παρ' αὐτῇ ὄλλυνται.* V.'s version of Proverbs (see Introd. § 5) was doubtless one of the many O.L. versions in use before Jerome's day. What Sabatier puts in his text at the end of Proverbs ix (as elsewhere) is not a 'Versio

Qui est, inquit, *uestrum insipientissimus, diuertat ad me. Inopes autem sensu exhortor dicens: Panes occultos libenter adtingite et aquam dulcem furtim bibite.* Quid deinde? *At ille,* inquit, *nescit quoniam terrigenae apud eam pereunt.* Qui sunt isti terrigenae? Exponat apostolus: qui *circa fidem,* inquit, *exciderunt.*

CAP. XXII.

(27) Sed operae pretium est totum ipsum apostoli capitulum diligentius pertractare. *O Timothee,* inquit, *depositum custodi, deuitans profanas uocum nouitates. O!* Exclamatio ista et praescientiae est pariter et caritatis. Praeuidebat enim futuros, quos etiam praedolebat, errores. Quis est hodie Timotheus nisi uel generaliter uniuersa ecclesia uel specialiter totum corpus praepositorum, qui integram diuini cultus scientiam uel habere ipsi debent uel

1 diuertat] Ascbj. deuertat BΓΔpr. 2 exhortor] ABΓΔ (LXX παρακελεύομαι· Vers. Ant. apud Ambros. praecipio). exhortatur scbjr. 4 quoniam] ABΓΔb^{3}jr. quomodo scpb^{12}. *ib.* pereunt] BΓΔpb^{3}jr. pereant Ascb^{12}. 12 quis] ABΓΔscpb^{3}jr. quid b^{12}.

Antiqua' properly so called, but quotations culled from this or that eccles. writer; in this case from Ambrose. V. uses an Old Latin text that differs somewhat from that used by Ambrose, being in some respects more like that used by Augustine. It is strange that no editor yet has printed 'exhortor' as part of the quotation. (See appar. crit.)

XXII. *The deposit referred to by St Paul in his charge to Timothy is the talent of Catholic Faith, entrusted to the Church, which every Christian teacher, like a spiritual Beseleel, must set forth and adorn just as it is, without alteration, addition or substitution. An exposition of* 1 *Tim. vi* 20.

8. **capitulum**] 'passage.' See p. 73 l. 1.

ib. **O Timothee**] 1 Tim. vi 20. See note p. 83 l. 11.

13. **praepositorum**] = episcoporum, cf. Tyconius *Liber Regul.* ii. Timothy is regarded by St Paul as a person whose duty it is to be rightly informed in matters of faith. V. says that that is still the duty of the bishops.

14. **integram**] Its emphatic position gives this a predicative force. 'Are bound to keep the knowledge of religion *pure* whether as guarding it themselves or communicating it to others.'

ib. **uel....uel**] with weakened disjunctive force, almost = *et...et,* cf. p. 281 l. 6, p. 63 l. 14. This use is found even in Cicero, cf. *De Or.* II 1. 3, 'quemadmodum ille uel Athenis uel Rhodi se doctissimorum hominum sermonibus dedisset.'

aliis infundere? Quid est: *depositum custodi*? *Custodi*, inquit, propter fures, propter inimicos, ne *dormientibus hominibus superseminent zizania* super illud tritici *bonum semen*, quod seminauerat *filius hominis in agro suo*. *Depositum*, inquit, *custodi*. Quid est *depositum*? Id est, quod tibi creditum est, non quod a te inuentum; quod accepisti, non quod excogitasti; rem non ingenii sed doctrinae, non usurpationis priuatae sed publicae traditionis; rem ad te perductam, non a te prolatam; in qua non auctor debes esse sed custos, non institutor sed sectator, non ducens sed sequens. *Depositum*, inquit, *custodi*; catholicae fidei talentum inuiolatum inlibatumque conserua. Quod tibi creditum est, hoc penes te maneat, hoc a te tradatur. Aurum accepisti, aurum redde; nolo mihi pro aliis alia subicias, nolo pro auro aut impudenter plumbum aut fraudulenter aeramenta supponas; nolo auri speciem sed naturam plane. *O Timothee*, o sacerdos, o tractator, o doctor, si

1 custodi inquit] ABscbjr. inquit (omit. custodi) ΓΔ. 6 creditum est] ABΓΔscpjr. creditum (omit. est) b. 15 aut impudenter] ABΓΔscbjr. impudenter (omit. aut) p. 17 plane] ABΓscbjr. plene Δ.

3. **zizania**] ζιζάνια, 'tares': Matt. xiii 24, 25 and 37. See also p. 91 l. 16, where the word is treated as if of feminine gender instead of neuter.

5. **depositum**] See note p. 83 l. 11.

8. **usurpationis**] 'adoption,' 'use,' cf. 'usurpat aliena' p. 94 l. 13. This fine rhetorical sentence with its splendid series of antitheses and well-balanced phrases shews how well V. observes the rules of metrical prose in writing for oratorical effect.

12. **talentum**] Matt. xxv 15. This is the first time that V. makes use of the parable of the talents to illustrate the 'depositum.' The idea is carried on in 'aurum accepisti, aurum redde,' etc.

16. **aeramenta**] Used by Pliny (XXXIII 5. 30 § 94, etc.) of 'bronze utensils,' lit. that which is made of copper or bronze. Here it = 'aes' or 'aera,' corresponding to 'plumbum.' But the fact that *aes* was frequently used for (good) money rendered it unsuitable for V.'s purpose. See Thesaurus, and Rönsch *It. und Vulg.* p. 22.

17. **tractator**] (i) originally a slave who anointed and rendered supple his master's limbs; Sen. *Ep.* lxvi 53; (ii) in later Latin, a 'handler' or 'treater' of anything, espec. literary matters; Sulp. Sev. I 6; (iii) but most frequently in eccles. Latin, a 'writer of sermons or homilies,' i.e. an expounder or doctor, cf. p. 116 l. 11. This meaning, how-

te diuinum munus idoneum fecerit ingenio exercitatione doctrina, esto spiritalis tabernaculi Beseleel, pretiosas diuini dogmatis gemmas exsculpe, fideliter coapta, adorna sapienter, adice splendorem gratiam uenustatem. Intellegatur te exponente inlustrius, quod antea obscurius credebatur. Per te posteritas intellectum gratuletur, quod ante uetustas non intellectum uenerabatur. Eadem tamen, quae didicisti, doce, ut cum dicas noue, non dicas noua.

Cap. XXIII.

(28) Sed forsitan dicit aliquis: Nullusne ergo in ecclesia Christi profectus habebitur religionis? Habeatur plane et maximus. Nam quis ille est tam inuidus hominibus, tam exosus deo, qui istud prohibere conetur? Sed ita

5 antea] ABΓΔscpjr. ante b. doce c. 8 doce] ABΓΔspbjr. ita

ever, of 'interpreter of the Scriptures' does not occur till the fourth century. The verb, of course, is used much earlier in this sense.

1. **diuinum munus**] 'divine gift,' referring to 'talentum' above.

2. **Beseleel**] Exodus xxxi 2 foll.

4. **intellegatur...credebatur**] Cf. above p. 82 l. 9.

6. **gratuletur**] usually with dat. of person as well as accus. of the thing (? sc. tibi). Here perhaps 'receive with joy.'

8. **dicas noue**] This striking phrase is one of the most noteworthy of the gems that adorn this treatise. The doctrines of the Catholic faith may be presented anew, more suggestively, more clearly, more instructively, but no novelty is to be among them. Perhaps we might even render: 'that your treatment not your subject, your manner not your matter may be new.'

XXIII. *Shall there, then, be no progress in religion? Yes, but it must be real progress, analogous to the growth of the human body or plant-life, growth which through all changes destroys not identity. The ancient doctrines of heavenly wisdom should, as time goes on, gain greater definiteness but they must remain the same in their spiritual reality. Accordingly, the work of the Church in the past has been, by means of the decrees of Councils, to add clearness to what was believed, vigour to what was taught, and zeal to what was practised already.*

10. **profectus**] For a discussion of V.'s conception of growth in doctrine, of its compatibility with his Rule and its relation to the views of modern theologians, see Introd. § 3.

11. **quis ille**] For this redundant ille after 'quis' see p. 20 l. 2.

12. **exosus**] In the active sense this word is only found with acc. or gen. even in late Latin. We

tamen, ut uere profectus sit ille fidei, non permutatio. Siquidem ad profectum pertinet ut in semetipsum unaquaeque res amplificetur, ad permutationem uero ut aliquid ex alio in aliud transuertatur. Crescat igitur oportet et multum uehementerque proficiat tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis quam totius ecclesiae, aetatum ac saeculorum gradibus, intellegentia scientia sapientia, sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu eademque sententia.

(29) Imitetur animarum religio rationem corporum, quae, licet annorum processu numeros suos euoluant et explicent, eadem tamen quae erant permanent. Multum interest inter pueritiae florem et senectutis maturitatem, sed iidem ipsi fiunt senes qui fuerant adulescentes ut, quamuis unius eiusdemque hominis status habitusque mutetur, una tamen nihilominus eademque natura, una eademque persona sit. Parua lactentium membra, magna iuuenum; eadem ipsa sunt tamen. Quot paruulorum artus, tot uirorum, et si qua illa sunt quae aeui maturioris aetate pariuntur, iam in seminis ratione proserta sunt, ut

2 semetipsum] ABΓΔpbr. semetipsa scj. semetipsam k Herz. 14 iidem] ABΓΔspjr. iidem tamen cbk.

must therefore translate 'so ungenerous to men, so hateful to God,' and not with Heurtley: 'so jealous of men, so full of hatred to God.'

2. **siquidem**] See note p. 15 l. 11. *ib.* **semetipsum**] The acc. here is necessary. The thing must develop into itself. Rauschen suggests that 'in semetipsum' is treated as an adverbial phrase like 'in idipsum' of the Vg., but the change from the neuter into res is very intelligible.

7. **gradibus**] 'in the course of ages and generations'; containing the idea of 'successive stages.'

8. **dumtaxat**] 'at least.' See p. 13 l. 4.

11. **numeros**] = 'partes'; i.e. 'constituent parts,' 'elements,' 'factors'; cf. Cic. *N.D.* II 13. 37: 'mundus perfectus expletusque omnibus suis numeris atque partibus.' 'Although they evolve and unfold their parts with the progress of years.' This remarkable analogy between the growth of the body and the growth of religious thought, changing and yet the same, is one of the beautiful imaginative passages in this book that seem to suggest that V. had had an early rhetorical training before he took refuge in the monastery of Lerinum.

20. **proserta**] 'has been already (iam) implanted in the law of

nihil nouum postea proferatur in senibus, quod non in pueris iam ante latitauerit. Vnde non dubium est hanc esse legitimam et rectam proficiendi regulam, hunc ratum atque pulcherrimum crescendi ordinem, si eas semper in grandioribus partes ac formas numerus detexat aetatis, quas in paruulis creatoris sapientia praeliciauerat. Quodsi

2 ante] ABΓΔspbjr. antea c. *ib.* latitauerit] B (sec. manu) ΓΔscbjr. latitauerat AB (prima manu) p. 6 quas] AΓΔscbjr. quasi B. *ib.* praeliciauerat] ABΓΔpjr. praeformauerat scbk.

seed.' In s. ratione can scarcely mean 'after the manner of seed,' as some take it. Cf. 'rationem corporum,' above, and see the passage from Aug. quoted below under 'praeliciauerat,' which seems to have been in V.'s mind.

1. **nihil nouum**] 'so that nothing new comes forth afterwards in old men which had not already before been latent in them as boys.' V.'s idea of growth is confined to the unfolding of already existing parts, and so was in accordance with the general view of evolution held by all biologists until the triumph of 'epigenesis' in modern times. The old theory was that there is an actual, not merely a potential preformation of the mature organism in the germ. Driesch in his Gifford lectures (1907, p. 46) shewed that true 'epigenesis' or the addition of new parts does exist in the animal and vegetable world.

2. **latitauerit**] This and not latitauerat must be the correct reading, since 'quod' is not a pure relative but is conditional. The subj., therefore, is required.

ib. **hanc esse**] The accus. and infin. is irregular after 'non dubium est.' Classical usage would require 'quin haec legitima regula sit.' See p. 27 l. 7.

5. **numerus...aetatis**] a somewhat strange phrase, probably formed on the analogy of the Ciceronian 'numerus frumenti,' 'num. uini,' meaning 'the full measure of age,' i.e. advanced age. It may also have a reminiscence of numeros above (p. 89 l. 11).

ib. **detexat**] (poet.) contains the idea of completion, lit. 'finish weaving a web'; 'whence it is not doubtful that this is the legitimate and right law of progress, this the appointed and most beautiful order of growth, that advancing years should always complete in those more fully grown the parts and forms which the wisdom of the Creator had beforehand begun to form in them as children.'

6. **praeliciauerat**] (from līcium) an obsolete verb 'to begin a web on a loom,' cf. Aug. *Ciu. Dei* XXII 14, 'Ipsa iam membra omnia sunt latenter in semine, ...in qua ratione uniuscuiusque materiae indita corporali iam quodam modo, ut ita dicam, liciatum esse uidetur.' The word 'detexat' had already paved the way for a word connected with weaving. The substitution of 'praeformauerat' in the early editions was doubtless due to lack of familiarity with this archaic verb.

humana species in aliquam deinceps non sui generis uertatur effigiem, aut certe addatur quidpiam membrorum numero uel detrahatur, necesse est ut totum corpus uel intercidat uel prodigiosum fiat uel certe debilitetur. Ita etiam christianae religionis dogma sequatur has decet profectuum leges, ut annis scilicet consolidetur, dilatetur tempore, sublimetur aetate, incorruptum tamen inlibatumque permaneat et uniuersis partium suarum mensuris cunctisque quasi membris ac sensibus propriis plenum atque perfectum sit, quod nihil praeterea permutationis admittat, nulla proprietatis dispendia, nullam definitionis sustineat uarietatem.

(30) Exempli gratia: seuerunt maiores nostri antiquitus in hac ecclesiastica segete triticeae fidei semina. Iniquum ualde et incongruum est ut nos eorum posteri pro germana ueritate frumenti subditiuum zizaniae legamus errorem. Quin potius hoc rectum et consequens est, ut,

7 permaneat] ABΓΔscbjr. permanet p. 9 plenum] AΓΔscbjr. plenam] B. 11 defin. sustineat] ABΓΔspbjr. sustineat definitionis c. 14 triticeae] ΓΔscbjr. triticea A. triticae B. 16 subditiuum] Ajr. subsidiuum B (prim. manu). subsiditiuum B (sec. manu) ΓΔ. subdititium scpb. *ib.* legamus] ABΓΔcpbjr. eligamus s.

4. **prodigiosum**] 'a monstrosity,' 'a freak.' See p. 99 l. 3, where it is applied to Caelestius.

5. **sequatur...decet**] Decet is generally followed by the infin. Here on the analogy of licet it is used with a jussive subjunctive. Cf. p. 92 l. 12.

ib. **profectuum leges**] See note p. 41 l. 12.

7. **sublimetur**] 'So that, namely, it may be consolidated with years, expanded with time, grow loftier with age.'

11. **definitionis**] Apparently used here in its earlier, half-metaphorical sense of 'outline,' boundary.' 'Which allows of no further transmutation, no loss of any distinctive property, no variation in outline.' Cf. p. 11 l. 8.

14. **eccles. segete**] cf. p. 92 l. 11 'dei agricultura,' and see Matt. xv 13. 'Sowed in the cornfield of the Church the wheat grains of faith,' i.e. the Catholic Faith, see note p. 97 l. 8. 'Triticeae' is transferred epithet.

16. **zizaniae**] = zizaniorum; as if from a fem. noun; but zizania (ζιζάνια) is of course neuter plural (see p. 87 l. 3). In the parable of the 'tares' Matt. xiii 24–30, the Vg. has zizania but the O.L. version reads zizaniam (xiii 25).

primis atque extremis sibimet non discrepantibus, de incrementis triticeae institutionis triticei quoque dogmatis frugem demetamus, ut, cum aliquid ex illis seminum primordiis accessu temporis euoluatur, et nunc laetetur et excolatur, nihil tamen de germinis proprietate mutetur; addatur licet species forma distinctio, eadem tamen cuiusque generis natura permaneat. Absit etenim ut rosea illa catholici sensus plantaria in carduos spinasque uertantur. Absit, inquam, ut in isto spiritali paradiso de cinnamomi et balsami surculis lolium repente atque aconita proueniant. Quodcumque igitur in hac ecclesia, *dei agricultura*, fide patrum satum est, hoc idem filiorum industria decet excolatur et obseruetur, hoc idem floreat et aetate maturescat,

2 triticeae] Ascbjr. triticae BΓΔ. *ib.* triticei] scbjr. triticeae A. · triticae BΓΔ. 6 species forma] ABΓΔspbjr. forma species c. 8 carduos] AΔscbjr. carduus BΓ. *ib.* uertantur] ABscpbjr. uertatur ΓΔ. 11 ecclesia] ABΓscpk. ecclesiae Δbjr. 13 floreat et aetate maturescat] conieci. floreat et maturescat cbjr. flore aetate maturescat ABΓΔsp.

2. **institutionis**] 'that from the growth of wheat-like teaching we may reap the crop of wheat-like dogma also'; cf. p. 83 l. 4 where *institutio* is again contrasted with *dogma*. The two words seem to refer to actual teaching first imparted (cf. institutor p. 87 l. 10, instituere p. 98 l. 15) as contrasted with the summing up of that teaching in systematic form.

5. **excolatur**] The classical meaning of this word is 'to make perfect,' cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1 2. 4, 'excultus doctrina.' Here and eight lines lower it bears the post-Aug. signification of 'to tend carefully.' See p. 95 l. 6 where it is contrasted with *colere* owing to V.'s love of antithesis, cf. Pliny, XIV 4. 5 § 48 'uineas excolere.'

6. **distinctio**] = honos, cf. p. 64 l. 12, though the word both here and on p. 93 l. 5 might bear the meaning of 'clearness,' 'sharpness of definition.'

8. **carduos spinasque**] cf. Gen. iii 18, where 'spinae et tribuli' in place of a cultivated garden form part of Adam's curse.

9. **paradiso**] Suggested by the reference to Gen. iii 18 in 'carduos spinasque' contrasted with the paradise of Eden. Cf. Ecclus. xxiv 20.

11. **dei agricultura**] in apposition to 'ecclesia,' i.e. 'which is God's husbandry' (cf. p. 91 l. 14 in hac eccles. segete). The words 'dei agricultura,' which are clearly taken from 1 Cor. iii 9, must be taken together, whereas if we read, with Δ, 'ecclesiae,' the meaning would be the 'husbandry of the Church of God.'

13. **floreat et**] In 'flore aetate,' a reading supported by all the MSS and the editio princeps, it

hoc idem proficiat et perficiatur. Fas est etenim, ut prisca illa caelestis philosophiae dogmata processu temporis excurentur limentur poliantur, sed nefas est ut commutentur, nefas ut detruncentur, ut mutilentur. Accipiant licet euidentiam lucem distinctionem, sed retineant necesse est plenitudinem integritatem proprietatem.

(31) Nam si semel admissa fuerit haec impiae fraudis licentia, horreo dicere quantum exscindendae atque abolendae religionis periculum consequatur. Abdicata etenim qualibet parte catholici dogmatis alia quoque atque item alia, ac deinceps aliae et aliae iam quasi ex more et licito abdicabuntur. Porro autem singillatim partibus repudiandis quid aliud ad extremum sequetur, nisi ut

8 exscindendae] AB (prima manu) Γscbjr. exscindente Δ. extrudendae B (altera manu). 11 aliae et aliae] ABΓjr. aliae (omit. et aliae) Δp. alia et alia] scb. 13 repudiandis] ABΓpj. repudiantis Δ. repudiatis scbr. *ib.* sequetur] ABΓscbjr. sequeretur Δ.

would seem as if we were confronted by an error dating back almost to the archetype. Most editors have altered this meaningless phrase to 'floreat et maturescat.' But this is scarcely sufficient to give rise to so extraordinary a reading as 'flore aetate.' I believe that V. wrote 'floreat et aetate maturescat.' The letters *atet* before *aet* might easily be accidentally omitted in an early copy.

3. **limentur**] V.'s three words seem to view the truth as a jewel. It comes to us first (in Scripture) uncut. The theologians cut it and polish it, getting it into form. This is an important concession. In order that the old truths may be better understood and that the jewel contained in Scripture may have more value for us, the ancient articles of Christian belief must be polished and adapted to the needs of successive generations, provided that they be not changed or marred. 'We may be sure' says Tyrrell (*Christianity at the Cross Roads*, pref. p. xxi) 'that religion, the deepest and most universal exigency of man's nature, will survive. We cannot be so sure that any particular expression of the religious idea will survive.' So Bp Gore, *Authority of the Church*, says that it is the function of the Church to 'commend the old faith to every man's conscience and to shew her life by rendering it intelligible in view of new needs to new generations of men.'

10. **alia**] i.e. pars. For a similar expression for successive parts being subtracted from or added to the whole, cf. Lucr. *De Rerum Nat.* 1 604,

'primaque et una
inde aliae atque aliae similes ex ordine partes
agmine condenso naturam corporis explent.'

13. **repudiandis**] The gradual

totum pariter repudietur? Sed et e contra si nouicia ueteribus, extranea domesticis et profana sacratis admisceri coeperint, proserpat hic mos in uniuersum necesse est, ut nihil posthac apud ecclesiam relinquatur intactum, nihil inlibatum, nihil integrum, nihil immaculatum, sed sit ibidem deinceps impiorum ac turpium errorum lupanar, ubi erat antea castae et incorruptae sacrarium ueritatis. Sed auertat hoc a suorum mentibus nefas diuina pietas, sitque hic potius impiorum furor.

(32) Christi uero ecclesia, sedula et cauta depositorum apud se dogmatum custos, nihil in his umquam permutat, nihil minuit, nihil addit; non amputat necessaria, non adponit superflua; non amittit sua, non usurpat aliena; sed omni industria hoc unum studet, ut uetera fideliter sapienterque tractando si qua illa sunt antiquitus informata et incohata, accuret et poliat, si qua iam expressa et enucleata, consolidet et firmet, si qua iam confirmata et

1 repudietur] ABΓΔcpbjr. repudiatur s. *ib.* sed et e] ABΓscpjr. sed e (omit. et) Δbk. 7 antea] ABspbjr. ante ΓΔc. 11 in his] ABΓΔspbjr. in iis c. 15 illa sunt] ABΓspjr. sunt (omit. illa) Δ. sunt illa cbk. 17 consolidet et firmet] Δjr. consolidet firmet ABΓscpbk.

breaking down of the gerundive has already been noticed p. 31 l. 8: 'by the rejection of portions one by one what else will finally follow?'

1. **e contra**] See Rönsch *Itala und Vulgata* p. 233.

2. **extranea**] from heathen sources.

6. **lupanar**] So in the O.T. the term adultery was used to describe the unfaithfulness of the Israelites who dissolved their relation with God (Jer. ii 2, iii 14, xiii 27, xxxi 32, Hos. viii 9), and those who rejected Christ are described as an adulterous generation (Matt. xii 39, xvi 4, Mk viii 38).

7. **sacrarium**] 'sanctuary' which becomes a 'house of ill-repute' (lupanar) when truth is sacrificed for heretical opinions. Cf. p. 14 l. 9 where the word is used in the plural.

15. **tractando**] 'that by faithful and wise expounding of what is old it may perfect and polish, etc.'

ib. **informata**] Not used in a negative sense = informis, i.e. 'shapeless' (a meaning this word never seems to bear), but 'rough-hewn.' 'Whatever has come down from antiquity merely in outline and only just begun,' i.e. in a rudimentary condition.

17. **enucleata**] Only used here and p. 51 l. 2, where it is found in combination with the same word *expressius*.

ib. **consolidet et firmet**] Though it is possible that the asyndeton

definita, custodiat. Denique quid umquam aliud conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut, quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur; quod antea lentius praedicabatur, hoc idem postea instantius praedicaretur; quod antea securius colebatur, hoc idem postea sollicitius excoleretur? Hoc, inquam, semper neque quicquam praeterea haereticorum nouitatibus excitata, conciliorum suorum decretis catholica perfecit ecclesia, nisi ut, quod prius a maioribus sola traditione susceperat, hoc deinde posteris etiam per scripturae chirographum consignaret, magnam rerum summam paucis litteris comprehendendo, et plerumque propter intellegentiae lucem non nouum fidei sensum nouae adpellationis proprietate signando.

2 enisa] ABΓscpbjr. enixa Δ. 3 quod antea lentius...postea] omittit B. 10 deinde] AΓΔscbjr. inde Bp.

'consolidet firmet' is right, leading from the double phrase 'accuret et poliat' to the single verb 'custodiat,' yet it seems more likely that *et* dropped out in an early exemplar through homoeoteleuton and that the scribe of Δ put it in on his own authority, and in so doing conjectured correctly.

3. **crederetur**] 'What else has the Church striven to effect by the decrees of Councils save that, etc.'? Card. Franzelin accepted the truth of V.'s rule in its *positive* sense but rejected it in an *exclusive* sense. He says (*De Diu. Trad.* 3rd ed. Rome, 1882, Theses ix, xii, xxiv) 'It is enough to have shewn a consent of faith prevailing in the Church at any time in the apostolic succession, in order to vindicate the divine revelation and apostolic tradition as to any head of doctrine.' This, however, simply abrogates part of the three-fold test, viz. Antiquity.

6. **excoleretur**] Cf. p. 92 ll. 5, 12.

9. **sola trad.**] Coster conjectured 'sua traditione' apparently because of V.'s two-fold criterion with which *sola* seems to conflict (p. 7 l. 10). V., however, means 'such interpretation of Scripture as has been handed down by tradition only.'

10. **chirographum**] The fundamental principle of the teaching of V. is that the Church once for all received the whole depositum; that therefore her duty has been to see that the whole truth which has been sufficient from the commencement, and nothing more than this, should be taught. If in anything her teaching has been purely oral, a matter of implication and assumption, she takes care that it should be fixed in writing. And she only does this, when heretics urge some contrary novelty.

13. **nouae adpellationis**] The particular new term of which

CAP. XXIV.

(33) Sed ad apostolum redeamus. *O Timothee*, inquit, *depositum custodi, deuitans profanas uocum nouitates. Deuita*, inquit, quasi uiperam, quasi scorpionem, quasi basiliscum, ne te non solum tactu sed etiam uisu adflatuque percutiant. Quid est deuitare? *Cum huiusmodi nec cibum sumere.* Quid est *deuita*? *Si quis*, inquit, *uenit ad uos et hanc doctrinam non adfert.* Quam doctrinam nisi catholicam et uniuersalem et unam eandemque per singulas aetatum successiones incorrupta ueritatis traditione manentem et usque in saecula sine fine mansuram? Quid tum?

8 per singulas] ABΓscbjr. singulas (omit. per) Δ.

V. is thinking is doubtless the word 'consubstantialis' (ὁμοούσιος) which Athanasius contended for as the true expression of Christ's divinity. V. means that, though the word was new, yet the idea which it conveyed was not new, but had always been held. 'Often stamping a doctrine of the faith which was not new by a suitable phrase which was new, merely for the sake of clearness of interpretation.'

XXIV. *A further exposition of* 1 *Tim. vi* 20. *St John also, in his second epistle, speaks as strongly as St Paul against the teacher of false doctrine. He who welcomes such a teacher shares in his error and virtually rejects the Holy Church throughout the world. Pelagius, his disciple Caelestius, Arius, Sabellius, Novatian and Simon Magus are instances of such heretical teachers who must be avoided and anathematized by all.*

1. **O Timothee**] Again V. reverts to what he regards as the principal warning against heresy in the N.T.—St Paul's warning to Timothy (1 Tim. vi 20)—and he continues to expound it word by word, shewing that it is of eternal application.

4. **basiliscum**] A fabulous serpent whose very breath and look were fatal (βασίλισκος, Heliod. III 8, cf. Pliny, VIII 21). The word is found in the LXX (Ps. XC (XCI) 13) where it is apparently used for some known serpent, i.e. the adder or the cobra de capello. Here it is used of the mythical reptile referred to above, and forms a climax to uipera and scorpio.

5. **cum huiusmodi**] 1 Cor. v 11 Vg. (Wordsworth and White, however, read eiusmodi).

6. **si quis**] 2 John 10, 11, Vg. This quotation is important as shewing that V.'s text of the Catholic Epistles was the new 'Vulgate' as well as his text of the Pauline Epistles, though the origin of this Vg. is not known. That V. uses the Vg. is seen by a comparison of the above text with the O.L. version in use in Southern Gaul (*d, e*, Luc. Cal.); 'Si quis *uenerit* ad uos et hanc doctrinam non adfert, nolite *accipere* eum in domum *et* aue *nolite dicere ei*; qui enim dicit *ei* aue,' etc. See Introd. § 5.

Nolite, inquit, *recipere eum in domum, nec aue ei dixeritis ; qui enim dicit illi aue, communicat operibus eius malignis. Profanas*, inquit, *uocum nouitates.* Quid est *profanas*? Quae nihil habent sacri, nihil religiosi, ab ecclesiae penetralibus, quae est *templum dei*, penitus extraneas. *Profanas*, inquit, *uocum nouitates. Vocum*, id est, dogmatum rerum sententiarum nouitates, quae sunt uetustati, quae antiquitati contrariae, quae si recipiantur, necesse est ut fides

7 quae antiquitati] ABΓΔscpjr. atque antiquitati b.

4. **penetralibus**] 'sanctuary'; cf. 'sacrarium' as applied similarly to the Church, p. 94 l. 7.

5. **templum dei**] 1 Cor. iii 16, 17.

7. **uetustati**] Though generally V. uses *uetustas* and *antiquitas* indiscriminately (cf. p. 11 l. 6), yet here, the two words being used together, a distinction seems implied. According to classical usage *uetustus* is that which has lasted for many years and still exists, i.e. long established; whereas *antiquus* is that which has existed in the past only, i.e. ancient, often with the accessory notion of excellence.

8. **fides**] Fides as it appears in classical writers up to the time when it is adopted into Christian literature is not so much 'belief,' 'trust,' as 'fidelity,' 'trustworthiness,' 'credit.' In this sense V. uses it (p. 5 l. 8) in the phrase 'relatoris fide.' Its use, however, in some expressions such as facere fidem alicui, habere fidem alicui (cf. p. 41 l. 3 'cuiuis fidem faceret'), paved the way towards this active meaning, for the trustworthiness and demonstrability of the object transferred to the subject becomes 'assurance,' 'conviction.' Hence Cic. *Paradoxa* ix, referring to arguments in public speaking, says: 'fides est firma opinio.' This sense of conviction is the nearest approach to the Christian use of the term. So V. (p. 67 l. 8) says: 'habendam cunctis adsertionibus eius fidem.' Now Latin had no exact equivalent to the active sense of πίστις, for there was no noun from credo, nor indeed any adjective except credulus, which generally had a bad sense; therefore the coincidence of fides with some meanings of the Gk πίστις and the natural tendency displayed towards using the word in the required sense of belief, trust, caused its adoption as the most suitable translation of πίστις. Hence fides was introduced into Christian literature with a definitely active signification. In this sense, therefore, V. very frequently uses it of the subjective state of the Christian. Hence fides as opposed to mores (p. 34 l. 8); and such phrases as fides sana, f. uera, fidei sanitas, fides trinitatis, etc. From this there is but a slight step to the meaning the Faith, the Gospel, the objective teaching, the whole Christian Religion, e.g. fides catholica, fides ecclesiastica, fides uniuersalis, fides semel tradita, fides maiorum, and the phrase here fides patrum. Thus fides has five distinct meanings in this treatise, shewing well the stages through which the word has passed;—(1) trustworthiness, e.g.

beatorum patrum aut tota aut certe magna ex parte uioletur; necesse est ut omnes omnium aetatum fideles, omnes sancti, omnes casti continentes uirgines, omnes clerici leuitae et sacerdotes, tanta confessorum milia, tanti martyrum exercitus, tanta urbium, tanta populorum celebritas et multitudo, tot insulae prouinciae reges gentes regna nationes, totus postremo iam paene terrarum orbis, per catholicam fidem Christo capiti incorporatus, tanto saeculorum tractu ignorasse errasse blasphemasse, nescisse quid crederet pronuntietur.

(34) *Profanas*, inquit, *uocum nouitates deuita*, quas recipere atque sectari numquam catholicorum, semper uero haereticorum fuit. Et reuera, quae umquam haeresis nisi sub certo nomine, certo loco, certo tempore ebulliuit? Quis umquam haereses instituit, nisi qui se prius ab ecclesiae catholicae uniuersitatis et antiquitatis consensione discreuerit? Quod ita esse luce clarius exempla demonstrant. Quis enim umquam ante profanum illum Pelagium

4 clerici] A (omnes sancti uirgines clerici) Γscbjr. cleri BΔ. 14 ebulliuit] ABΓscpbjr. ebulliunt Δ.

p. 5 l. 8, (2) conviction, e.g. p. 41 l. 3, (3) confidence, trust, e.g. p. 67 l. 8, (4) faith (in the Christian sense), e.g. p. 34 l. 8 and (5) that which is believed, e.g. p. 91 l. 14.

3. **sancti**] see note p. 79 l. 10.

4. **clerici**] explained further by leuitae et sacerdotes; 'leuitae' = 'deacons,' and 'sacerdotes' probably includes both 'priests' and 'bishops.' See p. 17 l. 2 where the same three words are used.

5. **martyrum ex.**] Cf. 'candidatus martyrum exercitus' of the hymn Te Deum. For other points of similarity between this treatise and the Te Deum see p. 32 l. 3 and p. 65 l. 14. See Burn *Introd. to Creeds* p. 28.

8. **capiti**] 'incorporated by means of the catholic faith in Christ who is the head,' i.e. of the Church, cf. Eph. iv 15 and Col. i 18. In another place V. calls Christ 'the head' p. 108 l. 10, where it is opposed to 'membra.'

10. **crederet**] deliberative, 'must be pronounced to have been ignorant, to have erred, to have blasphemed for such a number of generations, and not to have known what they should believe.'

14. **nomine...loco...tempore**] These three words again have reference to V.'s canon, in the order ab omnibus, ubique, semper. We may compare the objections of Athanasius to a 'dated' creed (Bright *Age of the Fathers* 1 p. 267).

ib. **ebulliuit**] Cf. p. 80 l. 10.

18. **Pelagium**] It is to be noticed that V. again disclaims any

tantam uirtutem liberi praesumpsit arbitrii ut ad hoc in bonis rebus per actus singulos adiuuandum necessariam dei gratiam non putaret? Quis ante prodigiosum discipulum eius Caelestium reatu *praeuaricationis Adae* omne humanum genus denegauit adstrictum? Quis ante sacrilegum Arrium trinitatis unitatem discindere, quis ante sceleratum Sabellium unitatis trinitatem confundere ausus est? Quis ante crudelissimum Nouatianum crudelem deum dixit, eo quod mallet *mortem morientis* quam *ut reuertatur*

4 omne humanum genus] ABΓΔspbjr. omne genus humanum c. 6 unitatem] AΓΔscpbjr. unitatis B.

sympathy with Pelagianism. See p. 36 l. 3 and note.

1. **liberi...arbitrii**] 'free-will,' which Pelagius maintained was all-sufficient to choose the right without the co-operation of Divine Grace. He denied the absolute necessity of the latter, regarding it merely as an aid rather than an essential to salvation. What he left out of sight was the weakening of man's will owing to the fall. Accordingly he denied the existence of original sin altogether.

2. **per actus**] 'to aid it (i.e. the will) in well-doing in every single act.' For this use of *per* cf. per singula quaeque...uaniloquia, p. 22 l. 6.

3. **prodigiosum**] In what sense was Caelestius a 'monstrosity'? If on account of his heretical views, the epithet seems unduly strong compared with 'profanum' which is applied to the master and arch-heretic Pelagius. Possibly it refers to some physical defect. Some writers have stated that he was a eunuch. See Marius Mercator *Common. super Cael. nomine* I 1 (Migne, *P.L.* XLVIII 67), 'Caelestius quidam, eunuchus matris utero editus.' For prodigium in this sense, cf. Cic. *Cat.* II 1. 1, where Catiline is described as 'monstrum atque prodigium,' and Ov. *Met.* XIII 917 'non ego sum prodigium,' and see p. 91 l. 4 where 'prodigiosum' is used again in exactly the same sense.

4. **reatu**] 'guilt'—a word first used by Messala, according to Quint. VIII 3. 34; cf. Deut. xxi 8 (Vg.) 'reatus sanguinis.'

ib. **praeuaricationis**] 'Adam's transgression' (Rom. v 14). In classical Latin this word was more or less confined to the legal offence of collusion with the advocate of the opposite side. In eccl. Latin it was used generally of any transgression, but especially of violation of the law. Cf. Rom. iv 15 'Vbi enim non est lex, nec praeu.'

6. **Arrium**] See note p. 9 l. 1.

7. **Sabellium**] See note p. 8 l. 8.

8. **Nouatianum**] See note p. 8 l. 8. His 'cruelty' consisted in his refusal to receive penitents back on any consideration whatever. By holding the maxim 'once fallen, always fallen' he practically imputed cruelty to God.

9. **mortem morientis**] Ezech. xviii 32 (Vg.).

ib. **ut reuertatur**] Ezech. xviii 23 (but Vg. reads *con*uertatur), cf. xxxiii 11.

et uiuat? Quis ante magum Simonem, apostolica districtione percussum, a quo uetus ille turpitudinum gurges usque in nouissimum Priscillianum continua et occulta successione manauit, auctorem malorum, id est scelerum impietatum flagitiorumque nostrorum ausus est dicere creatorem deum? Quippe quem adserit talem hominum manibus ipsum suis

6 ipsum] scj. ipsam ABΓΔpbr.

1. **magum Simonem**] The reputed father of Gnosticism. Underlying all the legends about this mysterious personage is what is related in Acts viii 5–24, where he appears as a sorcerer who had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that he was some great one, yet becoming an adherent of Philip and marvelling at the miracles and signs which were done (vv. 5–13). An entirely different picture, however, is given by the heresiologists of the early Church. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I 26) says that he was born in Gitta of Samaria, and that all the Samaritans worshipped him as 'the first God.' He describes him as a formidable magician who came to Rome in the days of Claudius, where he made a great impression by his magical powers. He apparently dealt with his heretical system in a treatise now lost. A valuable supplement to this information is given by a Roman heresiology written before A.D. 175 and incorporated by Irenaeus in his *Haer.* (I 23). Here Simon Magus appears in an essentially Gnostic garb being on the one hand the 'highest God above all power, authority and might,' and on the other 'the most sublime power of God.' Dr Salmon (*Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* art. *Simon*) contended that there was another Samaritan heretical teacher of the not uncommon name of Simon, who flourished perhaps a generation before Justin and who was the real founder of Gnosticism, and that Justin was mistaken in identifying him with the Simon of the Acts,—an error which others after his time naturally followed.

ib. **districtione**] See note p. 32 l. 5. The 'apostolic severity' referred to is to be found in Peter's words, Acts viii 20–23.

3. **Priscillianum**] See note p. 9 l. 2. He is called 'recent' (nouissimum) because his execution had taken place barely fifty years before this treatise was written.

4. **manauit**] 'From whom that inveterate torrent of baseness (i.e. Gnosticism) has flowed in a continuous and secret stream down to P. of recent date.'

ib. **auctorem malorum**] The difficulty of the presence of evil in the world is the root of all Gnosticism as leading to this dilemma, either God is not the creator of all things, or He is responsible for evil and therefore is not good. The Gnostics fell into the error of regarding evil as a positive element instead of negative, viz. violation of and opposition to the purpose and will of God.

6. **adserit**] Classical usage would require the subj. See Introd. § 4, and also p. 5 l. 2.

creare naturam, quae proprio quodam motu et necessariae cuiusdam uoluntatis impulsu nihil aliud possit, nihil aliud uelit nisi peccare, eo quod furiis uitiorum omnium exagitata et inflammata in omnium turpitudinum barathra inexhausta cupiditate rapiatur.

Innumera sunt talia, quae breuitatis studio praetermittimus, quibus tamen cunctis satis euidenter perspicueque monstratur, hoc apud omnes fere haereses quasi sollemne esse ac legitimum, ut semper *profanis nouitatibus* gaudeant, antiquitatis scita fastidiant, et per *oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae a fide naufragent.* Contra uero catholicorum hoc forte proprium, *deposita* sanctorum patrum et commissa

3 uitiorum omnium] ABΓΔspbjr. omnium uitiorum ck. 4 omnium turpitudinum] ΓΔb^{12}. omnia turpitudinum ABscb^{3}jr. 12 forte] ABΓp. fore Δ. fere sck. uere bjr.

1. **creare**] 'since he asserts that He Himself with His own hands creates the nature of man so weak (talem) that,' etc. The present inf. means 'is responsible for,' as if V. had written 'creatorem esse naturae.' All the MSS read ipsam for ipsum, emphasizing naturam. If it stood elsewhere in the sentence this might be so, but the contiguity of 'manibus suis' demands ipsum, the reading of the editio princeps (s).

2 **nihil aliud possit**] There is a striking resemblance between this passage and the fifth of the 'Obiectiones Vincentianae' (Migne *P.L.* XLV 1843–50) 'quae naturali motu nihil possit nisi peccare.' The identity of authorship is demonstrated by H. Koch *Vincenz von Lerin und Gennadius*, Leipzig, 1907.

3. **furiis**] The vices are, according to this theory, regarded almost as furies (*Ἐρινύες*) sent by Heaven to drive a man to destruction even against his will; cf. p. 14 l. 4 and p. 16 l. 6 where Furia is more definitely personified.

4. **barathra**] *βάραθρον*. This was the name given to a yawning cleft at Athens beyond the acropolis, into which criminals were thrown, Hdt. VII 133: Ar. *Nub.* 1450. Metaph. 'ruin,' 'perdition,' Dem. CI 1: used in this treatise of the abyss of heresy p. 109 l. 7. The two oldest MSS and nearly all editions read omnia before turpitudinum agreeing with barathra, but the sense seems to require omnium as in Γ and Δ, i.e. 'all kinds of baseness.'

10. **oppositiones**] 1 Tim. i 19.

12. **forte**] It is possible that this word answers to 'fere' four lines higher, 'This, you might say, is the distinguishing mark of Catholics.' On the other hand, it may be an adverb qualifying 'proprium' in the sense of 'thoroughly,' 'strongly,' 'extremely.' That the word must at some time have borne this meaning is seen from the French 'fort' which has the same

seruare, damnare *profanas nouitates*, et, sicut dixit atque iterum praedixit apostolus: *Si quis* adnuntiauerit *praeterquam quod* acceptum est, anathemate.

CAP. XXV.

(35) Hic fortasse aliquis interroget, an et haeretici diuinae scripturae testimoniis utantur. Vtuntur plane et uehementer quidem. Nam uideas eos uolare per singula quaeque sanctae legis uolumina, per Moysei, per Regnorum libros, per Psalmos, per Apostolos, per Euangelia, per Prophetas. Siue enim apud suos siue alienos, siue priuatim

1 damnare] ABΓΔscbjr. et damnare p. ABΓspbjr. anathema sit Δk. anathemare c. (Mosei) s. Moysi Δcbjr. Moysis k Herz. etc. ABΓΔscpjr. regum c (aliae edd.) bk. 3 anathemate] 7 Moysei] ABΓ *ib.* regnorum]

signification, and this, of course, comes from 'forte' and not 'fortiter' (see Rönsch *Semasiologische Beiträge z. lat. Wörterbuch* II p. 15). In this case 'forte' has practically the same meaning here as 'uere,' the reading of Baluze, which has neither MS nor early edition in its favour, and we must translate; 'this on the other hand is the essential characteristic of Catholics.'

2. **si quis**] Gal. i 9, from which the reiteration of the warning is also taken.

3. **anathemate**] Imperative, of course, from anathemo (=anathematizo, see note p. 34 l. 13). This, like 'adnuntiauerit,' is a variation of V.'s own for the Vg. reading 'si quis uobis *euangelizauerit* praeter *id* quod *accepistis anathema sit.*' Cf. p. 33 l. 7 where it is quoted correctly.

XXV. *The use of Scripture by heretics may be compared to the taste of honey given to children before nauseous drugs, or the labelling of poisons as healing medicines. Such deceivers are the wolves in sheep's clothing against whom the Saviour warns us saying: 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' Moreover, St Paul bids us beware of false apostles who, like Satan, transform themselves into children of light.*

7. **sanctae legis**] See note p. 7 l. 10.

ib. **regnorum**] Though Regna is not found as a title for the books of Kings either in the Old Latin or in the Vg., yet several early Fathers used this term. Ambrose *de Apolog. Dauid* I 2 writes 'in secundo Regnorum legimus libro.' So also Hilary *in Psalmos* xcv and cxviii. Jer. *ep. ad Damas. de Seraph.* xviii A writes 'sicut in Regnorum libris legimus.' Aug. *Quaest. de Iudic.* VII 17 says 'quas in libris Regnorum manifestius exprimit,' and Cyprian *Testim.* III 62 writes: 'in Basilion tertio' (from Greek βασιλειῶν), but later, III 80, he writes 'in Regnorum tertio.'

siue publice, siue in sermonibus siue in libris, siue in conuiuiis siue in plateis, nihil umquam paene de suo proferunt, quod non etiam scripturae uerbis adumbrare conentur. Lege Pauli Samosateni opuscula, Priscilliani, Eunomii, Iouiniani, reliquarumque pestium, cernas infinitam exemplorum congeriem, prope nullam omitti paginam quae non Noui aut Veteris Testamenti sententiis fucata et colorata sit. Sed tanto magis cauendi et pertimescendi sunt, quanto occultius sub diuinae legis umbraculis latitant. Sciunt enim foetores suos nulli fere cito esse placituros, si nudi et simplices exhalentur, atque idcirco eos caelestis eloquii uelut quodam aromate adspergunt, ut ille, qui humanum facile despiceret errorem, diuina non facile

5 cernas] ABΓscpbjr. cernis Δ. 7 et] ABΓscbjr. ac Δ.

3. **adumbrare**] 'to darken,' i.e. they try to conceal or cloak their views with the words of Scripture: cf. below l. 9 'sub diuinae legis umbraculis latitant.' The use on p. 56 l. 1 is different.

4. **Pauli Samosateni**] A celebrated monarchian heresiarch, bishop of Antioch from A.D. 260–270. He denied the distinction of persons in the Trinity and regarded Jesus as a mere man in whom the power or spirit of God dwelt. For a full discussion of his views see Bethune-Baker *Hist. of Chr. Doctrine* pp. 100–111.

ib. **opuscula**] His works here referred to are not now extant. Five fragments, however, have been published by Angelo Mai *Script. Vet. Noua Collectio* VII (Rome, 1833) 1 68 foll., and by Harnack *Dogmengesch.* 3rd ed. (Freib. 1896) vol. 1 p. 684 n. 6.

ib. **Priscilliani**] See note p. 9 l. 2. According to Jerome, Priscillian wrote 'multa opuscula' (*De Vir. Inl.* 101). Dr Schepss has found eleven of them in a MS of the fifth or sixth century belonging to the library of Würzburg and has published them in vol. XVIII of the *Corpus Script. Eccles. Lat.* Vienna, 1889.

ib. **Eunomii**] See note p. 9 l. 1. Of his writings we possess (1) ἀπολογητικός (Migne, *P.G.* XXX), (2) ἔκθεσις πίστεως (Rettberg *Marcelliana*, Gotha, 1794, 149–169), (3) some fragments of the treatise ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἀπολογία (*ibid.* 125–147).

5. **Iouiniani**] The fragments of his works have been collected by Haller in *Texte und Untersuchungen* N.F. II 2 (Leipzig, 1897).

ib. **exemplorum**] in the sense of 'texts'; cf. p. 106 l. 7, p. 107 l. 9.

9. **diuinae legis**] see note p. 7 l. 10.

ib. **umbraculis**] 'the more they conceal themselves under the shadow of Scripture,' cf. the use of *adumbrare* above (l. 3).

10. **foetores**] Cf. Cassiod. *H.E.* V 47 'foetorem haereticae pestis euomuit.'

12. **eloquii**] See note p. 8 l. 5.

contemnat oracula. Itaque faciunt, quod hi solent qui paruulis austera quaedam temperaturi pocula, prius oras melle circumlinunt ut incauta aetas, cum dulcedinem praesenserit, amaritudinem non reformidet. Quod etiam his curae est qui mala gramina et noxios sucos medicaminum uocabulis praecolorant ut nemo fere, ubi suprascriptum legerit remedium, suspicetur uenenum.

(36) Inde denique et saluator clamabat: *Adtendite uobis a pseudoprophetis qui ueniunt ad uos in uestitu ouium, ab intus autem sunt lupi rapaces.* Quid est *uestitus ouium*, nisi prophetarum et apostolorum proloquia, quae iidem ouili quadam sinceritate *agno* illi *immaculato, qui tollit peccatum mundi*, tamquam uellera quaedam detexuerunt?

2 oras] ABΓpbjr. ora Δsc. 4 etiam his] ABΓΔspjr. etiam iis cbk. 8 inde] ABΓΔcpbjr. idem s. 9 uestitu] ABΔscbjr. uestimento Γ (Vg. uestimentis). 10 uestitus] BΓΔscpbjr. omit. A. 12 ouili] ABΓscpbjr. ouile Δ. 13 peccatum] ABΓscbjr. peccata Δ. *ib.* detexuerunt] ABpr. texuerunt ΓΔ (texerunt) scbj.

1. **oracula**] Cf. p. 83 l. 6.

2. **oras**] The same idea is expressed in such similar language by Lucretius *De Rerum Nat.* I 936 foll., as to suggest that V. had that passage in mind (see Introd. § 4):

sed ueluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
contingunt mellis dulci flauoque liquore
ut puerorum aetas improuida ludificetur.

6. **praecolorant**] 'disguise beforehand.'

8. **adtendite**] Matt. vii 15, O.L. This passage shews us clearly what Biblical text V. used in St Matt. and so presumably for all four Gospels. The following variants from the Vg. are noticeable:

adtendite uobis] D P^{mg}LR*hbc*—Vg. omits uobis.

pseudoprophetis] *h*(*k*) Hil.Aug.—Vg. falsis prophetis.

uestitu] *habcf*.—Vg. uestimentis.

ab intus] *ha*(*b*)*cg*.—Vg. intrinsecus.

The deduction from this seems fairly clear: *h* (Matt.) is Codex Claromontanus (sixth cent.), said to have come from Lyons and certainly representing a 'South-Gallican' text. It is just the kind of Old Latin version which we should have expected V. to have agreed with. (See Introd. § 5.)

11. **proloquia**] = eloquia, i.e. statements (see note p. 8 l. 5). Only here and p. 123 l. 11.

12. **agno...immac.**] 1 Pet. i 19. *ib.* **qui tollit**] John i 29.

13. **detexuerunt**] The compound, though poetical, is doubtless correct here. It is used elsewhere by V. See p. 90 l. 5 and note.

Qui sunt *lupi rapaces* nisi sensus haereticorum feri et rabidi qui caulas ecclesiae semper infestant et gregem Christi, quaqua possunt, dilacerant? Sed ut fallacius incautis ouibus obrepant, manente luporum ferocia deponunt lupinam speciem, et sese diuinae legis sententiis uelut quibusdam uelleribus obuoluunt, ut, cum quisque lanarum mollitiem praesenserit, nequaquam aculeos dentium pertimescat. Sed quid ait saluator? *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos;* id est, cum coeperint diuinas illas uoces non iam proferre tantum sed etiam exponere, nec adhuc iactare solum sed etiam interpretari, tunc amaritudo illa, tunc acerbitas, tunc rabies intellegetur, tunc nouicium uirus exhalabitur, tunc *profanae nouitates* aperientur, tunc primum *scindi sepem* uideas, tunc *transferri patrum terminos*,

10 nec adhuc] ABΔscpbjr. ne adhuc Γ. 12 intellegetur] Apbjr. intellegitur BΓΔsc. 13 exhalabitur] ABΓΔspbjr. exhalatur c. *ib.* aperientur] ABΓpbjr. aperiuntur Δsc.

2. **caulas**] 'hole' or 'opening,' —a Lucretian word. He speaks of *caulas corporis, caulas aetheris.* Later it came to be used of an enclosure or sheep-fold, so Verg. *Aen.* IX 60. Cf. Joh. x 1 where the Vg. translates *αὐλὴ τῶν προβάτων* by *ouile ouium* and the Versiones Ant. by *cortem* or *aulam* (*r*). See for the sense of the passage Joh. x 12, on which, doubtless, it is a commentary.

4. **obrepant**] 'creep stealthily upon.' For this compound see p. 122 l. 4.

7. **aculeos**] 'do not fear their sharp teeth.' Cf. Livy XXXVIII 21. 11, where the word is used of the point of a dart.

8. **ex fructibus**] Matt. vii 16. O.L., so *k*, though it is to be noticed that *h* in this case agrees with the Vg. which reads '*a* fructibus' in vii 16, but 'ex fructibus' in vii 20.

10. **proferre...exponere**] 'not only to quote but also to expound.' The Arians were a signal instance of this, for they always read their views of the person of Christ into some Biblical passage or other, and at Councils never failed to have a text ready to support their doctrines.

13. **profanae nou.**] 1 Tim. vi 20. Vg.

14. **scindi sepem**] Eccles. x 8. O.L. See p. 83 l. 8 and note.

ib. **uideas**] The present subj. for the future indic. is strange, but it is found also p 103 l. 5 'cernas,' where 'cernes' would certainly be expected.

ib. **transferri**] Prov. xxii 28. O.L. See p. 83 l. 6. In referring to modern innovators who bring forth a multitude of Biblical citations in favour of their views, V. is preparing the minds of his readers for a more direct condemnation of the errors involved in Predestinarian teaching as a transgression of the principle of antiquity. See next ch., p. 109 l. 10 foll.

tunc catholicam fidem caedi, tunc ecclesiasticum dogma lacerari.

(37) Tales erant hi quos percutit apostolus Paulus in secunda ad Corinthios dicens: *Nam eiusmodi*, inquit, *pseudoapostoli, operarii subdoli, transfigurantes se in apostolos Christi*. Quid est, *transfigurantes se in apostolos Christi*? Proferebant apostoli diuinae legis exempla; proferebant et illi. Proferebant apostoli Psalmorum auctoritates; proferebant et illi. Proferebant apostoli sententias prophetarum; et illi nihilominus proferebant. Sed cum ea, quae similiter protulerant, interpretari non similiter coepissent, tunc simplices a subdolis, tunc infucati a fucatis, tunc recti a peruersis, tunc postremo ueri apostoli a falsis apostolis discernebantur. *Et non mirum*, inquit, *ipse enim satanas transfigurat se in angelum lucis. Non est ergo magnum si ministri eius transfigurantur sicut ministri iustitiae*. Ergo, secundum apostoli Pauli magisterium, quotienscumque uel pseudoapostoli uel pseudoprophetae uel pseudodoctores

3 hi] ABΓΔsjr. ii cpbk. 4 Corinthios] ABΓΔscpb[12]jr. Corinthios epistula b[8]. 5 operarii] ABΓΔspjr. sunt operarii cbk. 6 transfigurantes se] ABΔcpbjr. transfigurasse Γ. transfigurant sese s. 11 non similiter] ABΓscbjr. et ipsi similiter (omit. non) Δ.

4. **nam eiusmodi**] 2 Cor. xi 13. Vg., as 'subdoli' shews (O.L., dolosi), but both O.L. and the Sixtine and Clementine recensions of the Vg. read 'sunt' before 'operarii.' So also Ambrosiaster. Hence, doubtless, it was inserted here by Coster and Baluze but without MS authority. It is to be noticed however that Wordsworth and White omit 'sunt' and agree with V.

12. **infucati**] In classical Latin this word means 'painted,' cf. Cic. *de Or.* III 25, the prefix being merely intensifying. In later Latin the word came to have the opposite meaning (in- being negative), 'unpainted,' 'unvarnished.' See Arnob. II 75.

14. **et non mirum**] 2 Cor. xi 14 and 15. Definitely Vg. (O.L. 'nec mirandum' and other variations).

18. **pseudodoctores**] Though all such passages as this shew that V. has a recent example of dangerous teaching in his mind, which, by reason of its proceeding from a great master, was much to be dreaded, yet he is careful to lay down his principles in a general form for futurity. Persons and circumstances cannot alter fundamental principles, and those principles which treat of dogma are eternal and immutable. Teachers or prophets who propound doctrine that violates the threefold test are false to their name (pseudo-).

diuinae legis sententias proferunt, quibus male interpretatis errores suos adstruere conentur, non dubium est quin auctoris sui callida machinamenta sectentur, quae ille numquam profecto comminisceretur nisi sciret omnino nullam esse ad fallendum faciliorem uiam, quam ut, ubi nefarii erroris subinducitur fraudulentia, ibi diuinorum uerborum praetendatur auctoritas.

CAP. XXVI.

Sed dicet aliquis: Vnde probatur quia sacrae legis exemplis diabolus uti soleat? Legat euangelia, in quibus scribitur: *Tunc adsumpsit illum*, inquit, *diabolus* (id est, dominum saluatorem) *et statuit illum supra pinnam templi et dixit ei: Si filius dei es, mitte te deorsum. Scriptum est enim quod angelis suis mandauit de te, ut custodiant te in*

8 dicet] ABscpbjr. dicit ΓΔ. *ib.* quia] AB (prima manu) ΓΔ pbjr. quod B (sec. manu) sc. 10 illum inquit] ABΓ. illum (omit. inquit) Δscbjr. 11 supra] ABΔcspjr. super Γbk. 13 mandauit] BΓΔscbjr. mandabit A.

1. **interpretatis**] For the dep. part. used passively see note p. 14 l. 8.

2. **adstruere**] A somewhat unusual meaning must be assigned to this word. Lit. it means 'to add to' or 'furnish with.' Here it means 'to build up,' 'to prop up.' 'They seek to support their own errors by false interpretations.'

3. **auctoris sui**] i.e. the Devil, the father of deceivers and heretics, cf. Joh. viii 44.

7. **praetendatur**] 'no easier way of deceiving than by using the authority of Scripture as a screen under which base error is being fraudulently and secretly introduced.'

XXVI. *Heretics use Scripture in the same way as Satan did in the Temptation of our Lord, and they lure the incautious to join them by claiming special grace and privileges for their followers.*

8. **quia**] with subjunctive instead of accus. and infinitive. Cf. p. 45 l. 7. 'The devil can cite scripture for his purpose.'

10. **tunc adsumpsit**] Matt. iv 5 and 6. This passage again shews that V. used the O.L. text represented by Codex Claromontanus (*h*). See note p. 104 l. 8.

ib. **illum, inquit**] This use of *inquit* is in accordance with V.'s manner elsewhere: cf. p. 80 l. 6.

11. **pinnam**] So *cgh*. (Vg. pinnaculum.)

13. **mandauit**] So *h*. (Vg. mandabit.)

omnibus uiis tuis, in manibus tollant te, ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum. Quid hic faciet misellis hominibus, qui ipsum *dominum maiestatis* scripturarum testimoniis adpetiuit? *Si*, inquit, *filius dei es, mitte te deorsum.* Quare? *Scriptum est enim*, inquit. Magnopere nobis doctrina loci istius adtendenda atque retinenda est, ut, tanto euangelicae auctoritatis exemplo, quando aliquos apostolica seu prophetica uerba proferre contra catholicam fidem uiderimus, diabolum per eos loqui minime dubitemus. Nam sicut tunc caput capiti, ita nunc quoque membra membris loquuntur, membra scilicet diaboli membris Christi, perfidi fidelibus, sacrilegi religiosis, haeretici postremo catholicis. Sed quid tandem dicunt? *Si filius*, inquit, *dei es, mitte te deorsum.* Hoc est, si filius esse uis dei et hereditatem regni caelestis accipere, *mitte te deorsum*; id est, ex istius te sublimis ecclesiae, quae etiam templum dei putatur, doctrina et traditione demitte. Ac si quis

1 tollant] A (prima manu) BΓ. tollent A (sec. manu) scbjr. portabunt Δ. 2 faciet] Ascbjr. faciat BΓΔ. 13 dicunt] ABΓΔpbjr. dicit sck. *ib.* filius inquit] AB. filius dei es inquit Γ. filius dei inquit es Δ. inquit filius dei es scpbjr. 14 si filius esse uis] ABΓpbjr. si filius dei esse uis Δ. filius esse uis (omit. si) sc. 17 demitte] ABscpbjr. dimitte ΓΔ.

1. **tollant**] So *h*, *e*, etc. No doubt the reading of Δ (portabunt) comes from the familiar text of Ps. xc 12; 'et...tollent' in Matt. iv 6 (Vg.) appears to be a correction of Jerome's for 'ut—tollant.' St Matt. of course omits the clause 'ut custodiant te in omnibus uiis tuis' which V. here inserts.

3. **dominum maiestatis**] See note p. 61 l. 2. 1 Cor. ii 8, O.L. so also *d*, *e*, Leo, etc.

8. **apos. seu proph. uerba**] See note p. 10 l. 3.

9. **dubitemus**] In classical Latin dubito is followed by the infin. only in the sense of 'to hesitate.' Here we should expect quin with subj. See note p. 27 l. 7, 'so that with this example of evangelical authority before us we must not doubt...but that it is the devil speaking through them.'

10. **caput capiti**] i.e. Satan, the *head* of heretics, to Christ the *head* of Catholics; the phrase 'membra diaboli' as well as 'membra Christi' is common in Augustine's sermons. Cf. *De Resurrect.* cccxlvi.

16. **ex istius**] This application of the devil's words to seduction from the Catholic doctrine of the Church cannot be pressed very far.

ib. **templum dei**] 1 Cor. iii 16, 17.

interroget quempiam haereticorum sibi talia persuadentem : Vnde probas, unde doces, quod ecclesiae catholicae uniuersalem et antiquam fidem dimittere debeam? statim ille : *Scriptum est enim.* Et continuo mille testimonia, mille exempla, mille auctoritates parat, de lege, de psalmis, de apostolis, de prophetis, quibus nouo et malo more interpretatis ex arce catholica in haereseos barathrum infelix anima praecipitetur. Iam uero illis quae sequuntur promissionibus miro modo incautos homines decipere consuerunt. Audent etenim polliceri et docere quod in ecclesia sua, id est, in communionis suae conuenticulo,

1 sibi talia] ABscpbjr. talia sibi ΓΔ. 7 haereseos] ABΔscpbjr. haereseon Γ. 9 consuerunt] ABΓΔspjr. consueuerunt cbk. 10 in ecclesia] ABΓΔcpbjr. ecclesia (omit. in) s. 11 communionis suae] ABΓscpbjr. communioni suo Δ.

5. **lege**] = Pentateuch. See p. 7 l. 10 and note.

6. **interpretatis**] See p. 14 l. 8.

7. **arce**] Cf. 'arcem totius scientiae' p. 71 l. 10. Here the 'Catholic citadel' corresponds with the pinnacle of the temple in Matt. iv 5 and represents the height from which the Catholic Christian is tempted to throw himself into the pit of heresy. See the note on *barathrum* p. 101 l. 4.

10. **audent**] This is the nearest approach in the whole treatise to an open reference to Augustine and his followers. In the scorn with which he speaks of 'the little society of their communion' and in his rejection of teaching which all the world must recognize as that of the school of Augustine V. betrays the real object of attack in many of his guarded allusions. According to the view of Augustine, God predestinates some men to salvation and abandons others to perdition for no other reason than because it is His will. To the elect alone He sends His grace whereby man can be saved. The natural result of this seemed to be that, as all could not attain salvation, therefore Christ did not die for all. Though Augustine recognized God's consideration of human merit and of man's free-will, yet, as was natural, many strongly protested against views so severe. To those who objected the name Semipelagian is given, and this is one of the passages in the Commonitorium which is urged as shewing that V. held Semipelagian views. For a discussion of this question see Introd. § 2.

11. **communionis suae**] 'in the society of their communion.' This strange and noteworthy phrase could only be used of some definite sect. That V. is referring to the Predestinarians has just been shewn, but Tillemont presses these words a little too much when he says that it is here implied that they had separated from the Church (*Mémoires* XV p. 860–1). All V. means is that they did not form a *large* body.

ib. **conuenticulo**] (i) an 'as-

magna et specialis ac plane personalis quaedam sit dei gratia, adeo ut sine ullo labore, sine ullo studio, sine ulla industria, etiamsi nec petant nec quaerant nec pulsent, quicumque illi ad numerum suum pertinent, tamen ita diuinitus dispensentur, ut angelicis euecti manibus, id est, angelica protectione seruati, numquam possint *offendere ad lapidem pedem suum*, id est, numquam scandalizari.

sembly,' 'meeting,' 'association,' cf. Cic. *Sest.* xlii 91 'conuenticula hominum quae postea ciuitates nominatae sunt.' (ii) 'A place of assembly,' cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIV 15. It is used of the meeting-place of Christians by Arnobius, Lactantius, etc. Here the word is used apparently in the former sense; 'in the little coterie' (Bindley).

1. **personalis...gratia**] V. says, the special and personal grace which they claim is such that they are made incapable of offence. 'They can never hurt their foot against a stone,' i.e. can never be made to offend, and so all moral striving is rendered needless. He opposes the doctrine of predestination as undermining incentive to effort, and also seems to imply that in the Catholic theory grace is not bestowed upon individuals, but only upon the Church in general, presumably in the possession of the Sacraments.

3. **etiamsi nec petant**] That V. is here making use of one of the technical terms of the Semi-pelagians of his day is seen by reference to the letter of Prosper to Augustine in which he complains of this teaching on the part of the Massilian clergy: § 3, 'remoueri...omnem industriam tollique uirtutes, si Dei constitutio humanas praeueniat uoluntates,' and § 4, 'possit...ad hanc gratiam qua in Christo renascimur peruenire per naturalem scilicet facultatem, petendo, quaerendo, pulsando' (Migne *P.L.* XLIV 949). In Augustine's reply *De Dono Perseu.* 64 the same words are used; 'Adtendant ergo quomodo falluntur qui putant esse a nobis, non dari nobis, ut petamus, quaeramus, pulsemus.'

4. **quicumque illi**] See note p. 20 l. 2.

5. **diuinitus dispensentur**] 'have such dispensation of God.' V. is warning Catholics that the predestinarianism of Augustine was being exaggerated by his followers into a fatalism destructive of all human independence,—a warning not unnecessary, as the subsequent development of this doctrine shews. It is interesting to note that P. Pithou assured P. Sirmond that nothing had contributed more to make him abjure the religion of Calvin than a study of the 'golden work' of V. of Lerins (*Hist. littér. de la France* II 310). The use of *dispensari* is curious. Apparently it means 'are managed,' 'are looked after' by God. Cf. Cic. *Att.* XI 1 dispensare domesticas res, and Nep. *Con.* iv ad dispensandam pecuniam. It is a somewhat different usage from that on p. 116 l. 15.

7. **scandalizari**] 'to be tempted to evil'; lit. to stumble over some obstacle. V. takes the word *lapidem* in this quotation from Ps. xci 12 of 'the stone of offence' so often alluded to by our Lord, cf. Matt. v 30, etc.

Cap. XXVII.

(38) Sed dicit aliquis: Si diuinis eloquiis sententiis promissionibus et diabolus et discipuli eius utuntur, quorum alii sunt pseudoapostoli, alii pseudoprophetae et pseudomagistri, et omnes ex toto haeretici, quid facient catholici homines et matris ecclesiae filii? Quonammodo in scripturis sanctis ueritatem a falsitate discernent? Hoc scilicet facere magnopere curabunt quod in principio commonitorii istius sanctos et doctos uiros tradidisse nobis scripsimus, ut diuinum canonem secundum uniuersalis ecclesiae traditiones et iuxta catholici dogmatis regulas interpretentur; in qua item catholica et apostolica ecclesia sequantur necesse est uniuersitatem antiquitatem consensionem, et, si quando pars contra uniuersitatem, nouitas

1 dicit] ABΓΔscpjr. dicet b. 8 tradidisse nobis] ABΓΔspjr. nobis tradidisse cb. 11 catholica et apost. ecclesia] ABΓΔbjr. catholicae apostolicaeque ecclesiae scp.

XXVII. *Catholics must, as was stated at the beginning of this treatise, apply to the interpretation of Scripture the tests of Oecumenicity, Antiquity, and Consent. Where possible, let them consult the decrees of General Councils; where this cannot be done, the consistent rulings of great doctors must suffice.*

4. **ex toto**] =omnino. Post-Augustan.

7. **in principio**] i.e. chaps. II and III. The fact that we have from here to the end of the next chapter simply a recapitulation of this Commonitorium has been adduced by Koch (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, 1899) as the probable reason why V. in his final summary (ch. XXIX) contents himself with recapitulating from the first book no more than his main rule formulated at the outset of his work and devotes seven times as much space to his summary of the Second Book (now lost) which gave proofs from the action of the Fathers at the Council of Ephesus that his 'Canon' was not mere presumption but sprang from ecclesiastical authority.

8. **uiros**] It has already been pointed out (p. 2 l. 5) that V.'s ideas were gathered from such Fathers as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, but he doubtless includes in the present phrase some of the famous theologians for whom the monastery of Lerinum was conspicuous. His words in particular in p. 7 ll. 1, 2 imply personal enquiry.

12. **uniuersitatem**] The order of these words both here and p. 10 l. 10 is intentional. They are meant by V. to supplement one another, and to mark the successive steps to be taken by the Catholic in quest of the true faith. See Introd. § 3.

contra uetustatem, unius uel paucorum errantium dissensio contra omnium uel certe multo plurium catholicorum consensionem rebellauerit, praeferant portionis corruptioni uniuersitatis integritatem; inque eadem uniuersitate nouitatis profanitati antiquitatis religionem, itemque in ipsa uetustate unius siue paucissimorum temeritati primum omnium generalia, si qua sunt, uniuersalis concilii decreta praeponant, tunc deinde, si id minus est, sequantur, quod proximum est, multorum atque magnorum consentientes sibi sententias magistrorum. Quibus adiuuante domino fideliter sobrie sollicite obseruatis non magna difficultate noxios quosque exsurgentium haereticorum deprehendemus errores.

Cap. XXVIII.

(39) Hic iam consequens esse uideo, ut exemplis demonstrem, quonammodo profanae haereticorum nouitates

3 praeferant portionis] Δpjr. praeferant portiones ABΓ. praeferant partis cbk. praefer potiores s. 4 inque] ABΓΔp. in qua scbjr. 7 generalia si] ABΓΔcpbjr. generalia sunt si s.

7. **uniuersalis concilii**] It is impossible to study the history of the fourth and the following centuries without feeling that the great Councils were actually a power of the greatest consequence which could not, so far as we can see, have been dispensed with. But to have any value they must truly 'register the agreement of the Churches' and, as was said in the note p. 12 l. 12, as a further safeguard, their decisions must receive the general acceptance of the Church at large.

8. **si id minus est**] This is expressed in ch. III (p. 13 l. 1) as follows; 'si tale aliquid emergat ubi nihil eiusmodi reperiatur.' *Si minus* (=εἰ δὲ μή) is of course a common phrase but examples of *minus esse* are not so frequent.

9. **consentientes sibi sent.**] See p. 13 l. 3. The method of using the testimony of the Fathers is discussed in the next chapter. It is not enough to quote Scripture. The right and wrong use of it are to be discriminated, and the only canon of interpretation that can be laid down, failing the decision of General Councils, is that of the general consent of the Fathers of the Church. See however Introd. § 3.

XXVIII. *The testimony of the Fathers, be it noted, is useless to settle ancient heresies. It is only valuable with regard to new heresies, but we must be careful even in that case to adduce the evidence of those Fathers only who lived and died in the faith. What all or the majority of these have*

prolatis atque conlatis ueterum magistrorum concordantibus sibimet sententiis et deprehendantur et condemnentur. Quae tamen antiqua sanctorum patrum consensio non in omnibus diuinae legis quaestiunculis sed solum certe praecipue in fidei regula magno nobis studio et inuestiganda est et sequenda. Sed neque semper neque omnes haereses hoc modo impugnandae sunt sed nouiciae recentesque tantummodo, cum primum scilicet exoriuntur, antequam infalsare uetustae fidei regulas ipsius temporis uetantur

9 infalsare...uetantur] ABΓΔ (insalsare) pb[3]jr. infalsarint...uetentur scb[12].

clearly and persistently received, held, and taught, let that be regarded as undoubted, certain, and settled. The private opinions even of a saint or martyr must be disregarded. Here follow some quotations from St Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians in support of this statement.

4. **quaestiunculis**] If the diminutive is to be pressed at all, it means 'petty questions,' i.e. insignificant compared with doctrine. V. emphasizes the fact that the testimony of the Fathers is to be, in the absence of decrees of Councils, utilized only in regard to the 'Rule of Faith' and not in all questions that concern the Bible. Questions of criticism, for example, cannot be so settled.

ib. **solum certe praec.**] The omission of *uel* makes this a somewhat odd phrase: 'but only or at any rate chiefly.'

5. **fidei regula**] This famous theological phrase was originally applied to a profession of faith nearly identical with our Apostles' Creed. It was so used by Iren. *Haer.* I 9. 21; and Tert. *De Praescript.* xiii. Cf. also the lost *Regula Fidei* of Martin of Braga in Spain. Here it is used generally for the standard or criterion by which Christians ought to shape their belief: cf. 'credendi regula' p. 82 l. 15. See Ammundsen's paper on 'The Rule of Truth in Irenaeus' in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1912.

6. **neque semper**] Here V. himself admits that his Canon is not of universal application. It is notably and obviously valueless against ancient heresies. These, it is interesting to observe, he leaves to the authority of the Church. For the bearing of this reservation on the efficacy of the Canon see Introd. § 3. In any case we have here another sign that the special doctrine in the mind of the writer is not one of long standing or one already repudiated, such as those mentioned in former chapters, but a new one which can still be met and treated as a novelty. See Brunetière *Vincent de Lérins*, Préface, p. xxxviii (Paris, 1906).

8. **antequam**] =quamdiu (a late Latin usage, see Introd. § 4) and is contrasted with 'priusquam.' It was, doubtless, the strangeness of this use which gave rise to the reading 'infalsarint' of the editio princeps, which has no support in extant MSS. With the reading of s, 'uetentur' is jussive and must be taken with 'nouiciae recentesque.'

angustiis, ac priusquam manante latius ueneno maiorum uolumina uitiare conentur. Ceterum dilatatae et inueteratae haereses nequaquam hac uia adgrediendae sunt, eo quod prolixo temporum tractu longa his furandae ueritatis patuerit occasio. Atque ideo quascumque illas antiquiores uel schismatum uel haereseon profanitates nullo modo nos oportet nisi aut sola, si opus est, scripturarum auctoritate conuincere, aut certe iam antiquitus uniuersalibus sacerdotum catholicorum conciliis conuictas damnatasque uitare. Itaque cum primum mali cuiusque erroris putredo erumpere coeperit, et ad defensionem sui quaedam sacrae legis uerba furari eaque fallaciter et fraudulenter exponere, statim interpretando canoni maiorum sententiae congregandae sunt, quibus illud, quodcumque exsurget nouicium ideoque profanum, et absque ulla ambage prodatur et sine ulla retractatione damnetur. Sed eorum dumtaxat patrum

4 prolixo] ABΓscbjr. prolixorum Δ. *ib.* his] ABΓΔpjr. hiis s. iis cb. *ib.* furandae] ABΓΔscbjr. fruendae bk. 11 sacrae] AΔscpbjr. sacri BΓ.

This absolute use of 'ueto' and the redundant 'temporis angustiis' condemn this alteration. 'As long as they are prevented by shortness of time from depraving the rules of faith and before they attempt through the further diffusion of their poison to corrupt the writings of the ancients.'

4. **furandae**] See below l. 11 'sacrae legis uerba furari.' Perhaps an allusion to John x 1 and 8 'Ille fur est et latro'; 'Quotquot uenerunt, fures sunt.' The strange error in Baluze, 'fruendae,' caused those who followed him considerable difficulty. Klüpfel suggested 'fucandae' as an emendation.

5. **quascumque illas**] Cic. Caes. and Sall. always construed *quicumque* as a relative with its own verb (except in abl. sing., e.g. quacumque de causa) but Livy and post-Aug. writers frequently used it absolutely for quiuis or quilibet (see Zumpt *Gram.* § 706). For the redundant *ille* see note p. 20 l. 2.

7. **scripturarum auct.**] The first and last appeal in the refutation of heresies unconvicted by a general council is to the Bible, which in the eyes of V. is the oldest and the standard tradition. Tertullian thought otherwise. He says (*De Praescript.* xix): 'Non ad scripturas prouocandum est nec in his constituendum certamen, in quibus aut nulla aut incerta uictoria est aut parum certa.'

11. **ad defens. sui**] See note p. 8 l. 4.

13. **canoni**] i.e. the Bible, as in p. 8 l. 1.

15. **sine ulla retract.**] There is no need to examine whether it is true; if it is new, it stands condemned.

16 **dumtaxat**] 'as a proviso,' see note p. 13 l. 4.

sententiae conferendae sunt, qui in fide et communione catholica sancte sapienter constanter uiuentes docentes et permanentes uel mori in Christo fideliter uel occidi pro Christo feliciter meruerunt. Quibus tamen hac lege credendum est ut quicquid uel omnes uel plures uno eodemque sensu manifeste frequenter perseueranter, uelut quodam consentiente sibi magistrorum concilio, accipiendo tenendo tradendo firmauerint, id pro indubitato certo ratoque habeatur; quicquid uero, quamuis ille sanctus et doctus, quamuis episcopus, quamuis confessor et martyr, praeter omnes aut etiam contra omnes senserit, id inter proprias et occultas et priuatas opiniunculas a communis

4 feliciter] ABΔscpbjr. fideliter Γ. 7 consentiente] ABΓscpbjr. consequente Δ. 12 opiniunculas] scbjr. oppuniunculas AB. opponiunculas Γ. oppiniunculas Δ. *ib.* communis et publicae] ABΓΔspb³jr. communis publicae (omit. et) cb¹².

3. **mori**] cf. the famous maxim of Solon (Latinè, respice finem). The same idea is found also in Tertullian *De Praescript.* iii. 'Nemo est sapiens, nemo fidelis, nemo maior, nisi Christianus; nemo autem Christianus nisi qui ad finem usque perseuerauerit.' Only those who have 'endured to the end' must be regarded as orthodox Fathers whose opinions have any weight in the settlement of a controversy or the repudiation of a heresy.

4. **hac lege**] 'with this restriction,' 'on this condition.'

7. **magistr. concilio**] V. means that continued and persistent belief in a matter of doctrine on the part of all the orthodox Fathers is practically equivalent to the declaration of a Council. Customs, practices and the convictions which they imply, evident in the writings of the Fathers, may have authority, though never formally imposed. No Council has spoken, perhaps, because there has been in the past no controversy about these points.

9. **quamuis ille sanctus**] Whom is V. thinking of but Augustine? He seems to be the saint, the bishop, the confessor whose 'private opinions' V. is attacking as being 'praeter omnes et contra omnes.' His sufficient justification is found in the fact that even the striking personality and immense authority of the bishop of Hippo Regius could not induce all men to accept the whole consequences of his theories. See the interesting article by Prof. Langen, *Revue internationale de Théologie*, Juillet—Septembre, 1900, in which he upholds the attitude of V. towards Augustine and calls the latter 'a speculative and creative genius with little historical knowledge.'

11. **praeter...contra**] See note p. 79 l. 9.

et publicae ac generalis sententiae auctoritate secretum sit, ne cum summo aeternae salutis periculo, iuxta sacrilegam haereticorum et schismaticorum consuetudinem, uniuersalis dogmatis antiqua ueritate dimissa unius hominis nouicium sectemur errorem.

(40) Quorum beatorum patrum sanctum catholicumque consensum ne quis sibi temere contemnendum forte arbitretur, ait in prima ad Corinthios apostolus: *Et quosdam quidem posuit deus in ecclesia, primum apostolos,*—quorum ipse unus erat,—*secundo prophetas,*—qualem in Actibus Apostolorum legimus Agabum,—*tertio doctores,*—qui tractatores nunc adpellantur, quos hic idem apostolus etiam prophetas interdum nuncupat, eo quod per eos prophetarum mysteria populis aperiantur. Hos ergo, in ecclesia dei diuinitus per tempora et loca dispensatos, quisquis

1 ac generalis] cb^{12}jr. generalis (omit. ac) ABΓspb^{3}. generalisque Δ. 2 ne cum] ABΓΔbr. nec cum scpj. 7 contemnendum forte] ABΓΔspbjr. forte contemnendum c.

1. **ac generalis**] The parallelism between the three attributes of sententiae and the three of opiniunculas makes the insertion of et or ac before generalis necessary. The omission is doubtless due to oversight in an early exemplar after the similar letters at the end of publicae.

ib. **sententiae**] 'public opinion' as contrasted with personal and private views, 'that must be included amongst personal, secret and private theories altogether wanting the authority of common public and general opinion.'

2. **iuxta**] =secundum. This use is found several times in the Vg. See Gen. i. 11 'faciens fructum iuxta genus suum.'

8. **et quosdam**] 1 Cor. xii 28. That this is from the Vg. is proved by the word 'doctores' for which the O.L. read magistros (*d, e*). The Greek διδασκάλους is translated both in A.V. and R.V. by 'teachers.'

11. **Agabum**] Acts xi 27–30, xxi 10, 12.

ib. **doctores**] It is for this word particularly that V. quotes the passage. The opinion of the doctors or Fathers is not to be lightly esteemed. He who sets them at nought 'despises not them but God' who, according to St Paul, set them in the Church. But again V. lays stress on the fact that their opinion is only to be valued when they clearly agree in the sense of a catholic dogma. See note on tractator p. 87 l. 17.

13. **nuncupat**] V. has already made this remark, p. 37 l. 8.

15. **per tempora**] Cf. the use of per in 'per singula quaeque' p. 22 l. 6.

ib. **dispensatos**] apparently a reference to the 'given' in the

in sensu catholici dogmatis unum aliquid in Christo sentientes contempserit, *non hominem contemnit sed deum*; a quorum ueridica unitate ne quis discrepet, impensius obtestatur idem apostolus dicens: *Obsecro autem uos, fratres, ut id ipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in uobis schismata, sitis autem perfecti in eodem sensu et in eadem sententia.* Quodsi quis ab eorum sententiae communione desciuerit, audiet illud eiusdem apostoli: *Non est deus dissensionis sed pacis*; id est, non eius qui a consentiendi unitate defecerit, sed eorum qui in consentiendi pace permanserint; *sicut in omnibus*, inquit, *ecclesiis sanctorum doceo*, id est, catholicorum, quae ideo sanctae sunt quia in fidei communione persistunt. Et ne quis forsitan praetermissis ceteris se solum audiri, sibi soli credi adrogaret, paulo post ait: *An a uobis*, inquit, *uerbum dei processit, aut in uos solos*

2 contempserit] ABΓscbjr. contempsit Δ. 3 unitate] ABΓscpbjr. uniuersitate Δ. ueritate k Herzog. *ib.* ne quis] Δscbjr. ne qui ABΓ. 4 id ipsum] ABscpbjr (sic quoque Vg.). ipsum (omit. id) ΓΔ. 7 audiet] ABΓscpbjr. audiat Δ. 12 quia] ABΓscpbjr. quoniam Δ.

parallel passage Eph. iv 11. Rather different from p. 110 l. 5.

1. **in sensu**] i.e. 'in the interpretation of catholic doctrine,' see p. 11 l. 4.

ib. **unum aliquid**] with sentientes, 'holding, in Christ, some one definite view.'

2. **non hominem**] 1 Thess. iv. 8, where, however, the Vg. has 'spernit.' The alteration is doubtless due to 'contempserit' just preceding.

4. **obsecro**] 1 Cor. i 10. This is definitely Vg., as 'schismata' shews, for which the O.L. had 'scissurae' (*d*, *e*). There is, however, a variant among the Vg. texts for 'sententia.' AFG*HV read 'scientia,' so Wordsworth and White.

8. **non est**] 1 Cor. xiv 33. 'Doceo' is, of course, not found in the Greek text, but it is added to the Vg. in CDFG^{c}HV. It seems to come from 1 Cor. vii 17. See Hetzenauer's new Vulg., Rome, 1914.

12. **sanctae**] This explanation of the term 'sanctorum' which V. declares to be synonymous with 'catholicorum' (see p. 79 l. 10) accounts for his frequent use of the word as denoting persons eminent in the Church by reason of the purity of their faith.

ib. **fidei**] On the meaning of fides here see p. 97 l. 8 note.

15. **an a uobis**] 1 Cor. xiv 36. So also the Vg., except that it reads *per*uenit. Perhaps 'deuenit' is a slip on the part of V. The O.L. texts (*d*, *e*) have sermo for uerbum; in uobis solis for in uos solos; and they omit mandata in verse 37.

deuenit? Et ne hoc quasi perfunctorie acciperetur, adiecit: *Si quis*, inquit, *uidetur propheta esse aut spiritalis, cognoscat, quae scribo uobis, quia domini sunt mandata.* Quae utique mandata nisi ut si quis est *propheta aut spiritalis*, id est, spiritalium rerum magister, summo studio aequalitatis et unitatis cultor exsistat, ut scilicet neque opiniones suas ceteris praeferat et ab uniuersorum sensibus non recedat? Cuius rei *mandata qui ignorat*, inquit, *ignorabitur*, id est, qui aut nescita non discit aut scita contemnit, *ignorabitur*, hoc est, indignus habebitur, qui inter unitos fide et exaequatos humilitate diuinitus respiciatur, quo malo nescio an quicquam acerbius cogitari queat. Quod tamen iuxta apostolicam comminationem Pelagiano illi prouenisse cernimus Iuliano, qui se conlegarum sensui aut incorporare neglexit aut excorporare praesumpsit.

9 qui aut] AΓΔscbjr. aut (omit. qui) B. 12 cogitari] ABΔscbjr. cogitare Γ.

1. **perfunctorie**] See p. 33 l. 3.

2. **si quis**] 1 Cor. xiv 37.

5. **aequalitatis**] 'impartiality,' i.e. not biased in his own favour. This is further explained by the words: 'neque opiniones suas ceteris praeferat.'

8. **qui ignorat**] 1 Cor. xiv 38. So Vg. O.L. (*d, e*) have ignoratur for ignorabitur.

11. **diuinitus resp.**] 'shall be held unworthy to be reckoned by God in the number of those who are united by faith and rendered equal by humility, than which we cannot imagine a more terrible evil.'

12. **iuxta**] See note p. 116 l. 2.

14. **Iuliano**] Julian, the most gifted and consistent champion of Pelagianism, was consecrated bishop of Eclana or Eclanum in Campania by Innocent I (416–7), up to which time he seems to have been orthodox, but the following year he was one of nineteen bishops who refused to sign the circular letter of Zosimus condemning Pelagius and Caelestius, and was accordingly deposed and exiled. After this he adopted definite Pelagian views. Augustine at his death left unfinished a work against him (*opus imperfectum contra Iulianum*). Julian died in Sicily A.D. 454 or thereabouts, so that he was still living when V. wrote this treatise. Julian's views were expressly condemned at the Council of Ephesus. See Bright *Age of the Fathers* II 220 and A. Bruckner 'Julian von Eklanum, sein Leben und seine Lehre,' in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XV 3, Leipzig, 1897.

ib. **sensui**] 'belief,' with special reference to the refusal of Julian to sign Zosimus' Tractoria. This belief of the united episcopate is regarded somewhat curiously as forming a 'body.'

Sed iam tempus est ut pollicitum proferamus exemplum ubi et quomodo sanctorum patrum sententiae congregatae sint, ut secundum eas ex decreto atque auctoritate concilii ecclesiasticae fidei regula figeretur. Quod quo commodius fiat, hic sit iam huius commonitorii modus, ut cetera quae sequuntur ab alio sumamus exordio.

Secundum commonitorium interlapsum est; neque ex eo amplius quicquam quam postrema particula remansit, id est, sola recapitulatio, quae et subiecta est.

Cap. XXIX.

(41) Quae cum ita sint, iam tempus est ut ea, quae

7 interlapsum est] ABΓscpbjr. interlapsum (omit. est) Δ.

1. **pollicitum**] For deponent particles used passively see p. 14 l. 8.

ib. **exemplum**] This promise was made at the beginning of the present ch. p. 112 l. 14.

4. **fidei regula**] See note p. 113 l. 5.

7. **secundum**] These words, which are found in all MSS and ancient editions, though very old, can hardly have been written by V. himself. They imply that what remains was part of the original book (postrema particula remansit) and therefore they are opposed to the statement of Gennadius that V. after the loss of the Second Commonitorium by theft, substituted this ending. 'Cuius operis quia secundi libri maximam in schedulis partem a quibusdam furatam perdidit, recapitulato eius paucis sermonibus sensu primo compegit et in uno libro edidit' (*De uiris inlustr.* lxiv). This note was probably added to the text by the original editor of the treatise, i.e. one of the monks of the monastery to whom, after the death of V., the work of preparing the book for publication was entrusted, and was doubtless written by the same hand as that which wrote the title (q.v.) and the concluding remark. Possibly the editor intentionally omitted the greater part of the Second Book. See Introd. § 1 where the problem of the loss of the Second Commonitorium is discussed. This act was rendered all the more easy as there happened to be an adequate and comprehensive summary at the end of Book II of all that had preceded. The book seems to have consisted of a new defence of antiquity based on the fact that the Council of Ephesus took their stand entirely on antiquity in condemning Nestorius.

XXIX. *A repetition of the twofold test of true faith, viz. the authority of Scripture and the tradition of the Catholic Church. The value of antiquity is seen by the example of the Council of Ephesus, where the testimony of*

duobus his commonitoriis dicta sunt, in huius secundi fine recapitulemus. Diximus in superioribus, hanc fuisse semper et esse hodieque catholicorum consuetudinem, ut fidem ueram duobus his modis adprobent: primum diuini canonis auctoritate, deinde ecclesiae catholicae traditione. Non quia canon solus non sibi ad uniuersa sufficiat, sed quia uerba diuina pro suo plerique arbitratu interpretantes uarias opiniones erroresque concipiant, atque ideo necesse sit, ut ad unam ecclesiastici sensus regulam scripturae caelestis intellegentia dirigatur, in his dumtaxat praecipue quaestionibus quibus totius catholici dogmatis fundamenta

3 hodieque] ABΓΔscpb^{3}jr. hodie b^{12}. 10 in his] ABΓΔbjr. in hiis s. in iis cp.

martyrs, confessors and orthodox doctors was, by an assembly of nearly two hundred bishops, considered sufficient to prove that Nestorius was opposed to Catholic truth and Cyril in agreement with it.

1. **duobus his**] Several expressions shew that V. had both books of the Commonitorium complete before him at the time of writing this summary (cf. in *huius* secundi fine *recapitulemus*; *hic quoque* interponere necessarium, etc.). The explanation that this summary was written *before* the Second Book as a preliminary outline and that the second book was never afterwards written, is, accordingly, as untenable as the theory of Gennadius that this summary was drawn up after the loss of Book II. Yet the latter has been recently maintained by Jülicher in his edition (Leipzig, 1895, p. iv), where he thinks that this is the reason why V. in this résumé devotes seven times more space to the Second Commonitorium than to the First.

2. **superioribus**] The summary of the First Book begins with 'Diximus in superioribus'...and continues to 'iudicaretur' p. 121 l. 16. The summary of the Second Book (now lost) begins with 'Quod ne praesumptione...' and continues to the end of the ch.

3. **hodieque**] A late Lat. contraction for 'hodie quoque' = 'usque adhuc,' 'etiam nunc.' So Tac. *Germ.* iii, Suet. *Claud.* xix, etc. *Iamque* is used in the same way by Martial. See Lewis and Short under 'hodie.'

5. **traditione**] V.'s main thesis of the need of tradition to interpret Scripture, enunciated in ch. II (p. 7 l. 11), is also repeated in ch. XXVII (p. 111 l. 10).

11. **fundamenta**] What does V. mean exactly by the 'questions on which the foundations of the whole Catholic Doctrine rest'? Doubtless something more or less corresponding to the Apostles' Creed, but it would have been interesting if he had specified more clearly what were in his eyes the cardinal matters of faith.

nituntur. Item diximus, in ipsa rursus ecclesia uniuersitatis pariter et antiquitatis consensionem spectari oportere, ne aut ab unitatis integritate in partem schismatis abrumpamur, aut a uetustatis religione in haereseon nouitates praecipitemur. Item diximus, in ipsa ecclesiae uetustate duo quaedam uehementer studioseque obseruanda, quibus penitus inhaerere deberent, quicumque haeretici esse nollent: primum, si quid esset antiquitus ab omnibus ecclesiae catholicae sacerdotibus uniuersalis concilii auctoritate decretum, deinde, si qua noua exsurgeret quaestio, ubi id minime reperiretur, recurrendum ad sanctorum patrum sententias, eorum dumtaxat qui suis quique temporibus et locis in unitate communionis et fidei permanentes, magistri probabiles exstitissent, et quicquid uno sensu atque consensu tenuisse inuenirentur, id ecclesiae uerum et catholicum absque ullo scrupulo iudicaretur.

(42) Quod ne praesumptione magis nostra quam auctoritate ecclesiastica promere uideremur, exemplum adhibuimus sancti concilii, quod ante triennium ferme in

4 a uetustatis] ABΓΔpbr. e uetustatis scj. 8 nollent] ABΓΔpbjr. nolint sc. 12 quique] ABΓΔscpjr. quisque bk.

1. **item diximus**] II (3), p. 10 l. 10 and XXVII (38) p. 111 l. 12. Though in form V. has here reduced his criterions to two, yet in reality the phrase is equivalent to the threefold expression: 'uniuersitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem.'

ib. **rursus**] with *spectari oportere*; 'the next necessity is a consideration of, etc.'

5. **praecipitemur**] An allusion to V.'s own phrase in p. 109 l. 7 'ex arce catholica in haereseos barathrum infelix anima praecipitetur.'. Hence in spite of MS authority Jülicher would follow s and read '*e* uetustatis rel.' here.

ib. **item diximus**] III (4), p. 12 l. 12 and XXVII (38), p. 112 l. 7.

15. **ecclesiae**] dat. with *iudicaretur*. 'Let that without any doubt be ascribed to the Church as true and catholic,' or perhaps 'judged for the Church.'

17. **praesumptione**] It is to be noticed how constantly V. denies that he was the originator of this theory of tradition. See note p. 2 l. 5.

19. **triennium**] This passage and the reference (p. 130 l. 11) to the letter of Sixtus 'qui nunc Romanam ecclesiam uenerandus inlustrat,' which was written to John, bishop of Antioch in 433, fixes very nearly the actual date when the Commonitorium was written. It must have been composed in 434.

Asia apud Ephesum celebratum est uiris clarissimis Basso Antiochoque consulibus. Vbi cum de sanciendis fidei regulis disceptaretur, ne qua illic forsitan profana nouitas in modum perfidiae Ariminensis obreperet, uniuersis sacerdotibus, qui illo ducenti fere numero conuenerant, hoc catholicissimum fidelissimum atque optimum factu uisum est, ut in medium sanctorum patrum sententiae proferrentur, quorum alios martyres, alios confessores, omnes

4 obreperet] Bscpbjr. subriperet AΓΔ. 7 medium] ABΓscpbjr. medio Δ.

1. **Ephesum**] The Council of Ephesus, summoned by the Emperor Theodosius, met on June 22nd A.D. 431, in the Church of St Mary where the mother of our Lord was believed to have been buried. Cyril of Alexandria, who presided, refused to wait for John, bishop of Antioch, and other Oriental bishops who arrived somewhat late, and hurried on the proceedings with great haste. After the recitation of the Nicene Creed, the assembled bishops proceeded to a consideration of the teaching of Nestorius, for which purpose the Council had been convened. A collection of extracts from earlier theologians was produced in evidence of the true doctrine on the points in dispute, and after this a number of extracts from the writings of Nestorius were read amidst general disapprobation. A sentence of deposition against Nestorius was drawn up 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ whom he hath blasphemed.' The Council of Ephesus is received as the Third General Council and its doctrine respecting the Saviour's person is a part of the Catholic Faith. But it would be vain to defend the hasty and disorderly proceedings of those by whom the deliberations were conducted, and there remains the question whether Nestorius was guilty of holding the opinions for which he was condemned. See note p. 40 l. 5 and below p. 130 l. 4.

ib. **clarissimis**] The regular title for the senatorial order. See Cagnat *Cours d'Épigraphie lat.* ed. 3, 1898, pp. 89 and 477. Bassus and Antiochus were consuls in 431.

4. **in modum**] = modo.

ib. **perfidiae Arim.**] See p. 15 l. 3.

ib. **obreperet**] 'creep in by stealth.' Though I have kept in the text 'obreperet' the reading of B, inasmuch as V. has already used this compound once (see p. 105 l. 4), yet it is not improbable that 'subreperet' is the right word, *e* and *i* being interchanged as often in these MSS.

5. **illo...conuenerant**] 'had assembled thither.'

ib. **ducenti**] The sentence of deposition against Nestorius was drawn up and signed by a hundred and ninety-eight bishops, but others soon joined that number. Prosper (*Chron.* ad annum 431) says 'plus ducentorum synodo.'

uero catholicos sacerdotes fuisse et permansisse constaret; ut scilicet rite atque sollemniter ex eorum consensu atque decreto antiqui dogmatis religio confirmaretur et profanae nouitatis blasphemia condemnaretur. Quod cum ita factum foret, iure meritoque impius ille Nestorius catholicae uetustati contrarius, beatus uero Cyrillus sacrosanctae antiquitati consentaneus iudicatus est. Et ut ad fidem rerum nihil deesset, etiam nomina et numerum—licet ordinem fuissemus obliti—edidimus eorum patrum, iuxta quorum ibidem concinentem sibi concordemque sententiam et legis sacrae proloquia exposita sunt, et diuini dogmatis regula constabilita est, quos ad confirmandam memoriam hic quoque recensere nequaquam superfluum est.

CAP. XXX.

Sunt ergo hi uiri, quorum in illo concilio uel tamquam iudicum uel tamquam testium scripta recitata sunt:

8 etiam nomina] ABΓΔscpjr. tam nomina bk. 9 quorum] ABΓΔcpbjr. quorum ordinem s. omittit per homoeoteleuton Γ. 15 iudicum uel tamquam]

6. **Cyrillus**] bishop of Alexandria 412–444. He presided over the Council of Ephesus and was the most vehement opponent of Nestorius. His personal faults should not blind us to his merits as a theologian, though there is a feeling now that his Christology contains traces of a relationship with Apollinarianism. See A. Rehrmann *Die Christologie des hl. Cyrillus von Alexandrien*, Hildesheim, 1902; and also Mason *The Chalcedonian Doctrine*, S.P.C.K. 1913.

9. **fuissemus**] for essemus. Cf. p. 29 l. 14 and p. 34 l. 13.

11. **proloquia**] Cf. note p. 8 l. 5 and p. 104 l. 11.

12. **memoriam**] On V.'s weakness of memory see note p. 3 l. 1. That it is not merely a figure of speech is shewn by such remarks as 'licet ordinem fuissemus obliti.'

ib. **hic quoque**] See note p. 120 l. 1. 'To mention them here also by way of strengthening the memory is by no means unnecessary.'

XXX. *An enumeration of ten illustrious doctors whose works were cited as authoritative evidence against the views of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus. They are mentioned as fulfilling to some extent the requirements of Oecumenicity and Consent.*

sanctus Petrus, Alexandrinus episcopus, doctor praestantissimus et martyr beatissimus; sanctus Athanasius, eiusdem ciuitatis antistes, magister fidelissimus et confessor eminentissimus; sanctus Theophilus, eiusdem item urbis episcopus, uir fide uita scientia satis clarus, cui successit uenerandus Cyrillus qui nunc Alexandrinam inlustrat ecclesiam. Et ne forsitan unius ciuitatis ac prouinciae doctrina haec putaretur, adhibita sunt etiam illa Cappadociae lumina, sanctus Gregorius, episcopus et

2 sanctus Athanasius] ABΓscpbjr. Athanasius (om. sanctus) Δ. 8 doctrina] Bcpbjr. doctrinae AΓΔs.

1. **Petrus**] succeeded Theonas as bishop of Alexandria A.D. 300. He was conspicuous both for the virtue of his life and for his knowledge of the Scriptures (Eus. *H.E.* IX 6. 2). He was beheaded in Maximin's persecution in 311. Three short extracts from his book on the Divinity of Christ (*περὶ θεότητος*) were read at the Council, in which he took exception to such a view of the *κένωσις* as would suppose the Word to have parted with the power or glory of His Godhead when He condescended to become man. They are given in Labbe's *Concilia*, vol. III cols. 507 and 508. See also 'Peter the Martyr' in Radford's *Three Teachers of Alexandria*, Camb. 1908.

2. **Athanasius**] Two extracts from his works were read; one from his book against the Arians (Oratio 4) and one from his epistle to Epictetus, both dealing with the Incarnation. See Labbe's *Concilia*, vol. III cols. 507 and 508.

4. **Theophilus**] succeeded Timotheus in 385 as the twenty-second bishop of Alexandria and died in 412. He was the uncle of Cyril and, like his nephew, was of a domineering disposition, naturally impulsive and intensely contentious. The judgment of V. concerning him (uir fide uita scientia satis clarus) is altogether too favourable. He is famous as having been the bitter opponent of John Chrysostom. Various fragments of his writings are collected by Gallandi, two of which, from his fifth and sixth Paschal Epistles, read at the Council of Ephesus, affirm the reality of Christ's human body (Labbe *Concilia* III cols. 511 and 512).

9. **Cappadociae lum.**] The most distinguished of the later Nicene teachers were the three Cappadocians, Basil, his brother Gregory of Nyssa and their common friend Gregory of Nazianzus. They were the chief champions in the East of the orthodox Nicene faith in the struggle against Arianism and against the two doctrinal disputes that arose out of Arianism, viz. Macedonianism which dealt with the personality of the Holy Spirit, and Apollinarianism which dealt with the two natures of our Lord.

ib. **Gregorius**] Born about 330 at Nazianzus, a poor diocese of which his father was bishop. His death took place in 390. The quotation read at the Council

confessor de Nanzando, sanctus Basilius, Caesareae Cappadocum episcopus et confessor, sanctus item alter Gregorius Nyssenus episcopus, fidei conuersationis integritatis et sapientiae merito fratre Basilio dignissimus. Sed ne sola Graecia aut oriens tantum, uerum etiam occidentalis et latinus orbis ita semper sensisse adprobaretur, lectae sunt quoque ibi quaedam ad quosdam epistulae sancti Felicis martyris et sancti Iulii, urbis Romae episcoporum. Et ut

1 denanzando uel nazabos ABΓΔp. de Nazando uel Nazanzo s. de Nazanzo c. de Nazianzo bjr. *ib.* Cappadocum] ABΓΔpr. Cappadociae scbj.

was from his Epist. I *ad Cledonium*. Labbe's *Concilia* III, cols. 513 and 514.

1. **Nanzando**] The correct form of Gregory's birthplace and his father's bishopric is Nazianzus (*Ναζιανζος*). The peculiar form of the name (native Cappadocian Grecized) offered great difficulties to the Latins, who rarely if ever spelt it correctly. For instance, MSS of Rufinus' translation of Gregory's orations give the adjective, which ought to be Nazianzenus, in the forms Nanzanzenus / Nazanzenus, both at least as early as the ninth century. The mediaeval catalogues of MSS shew the same. It is quite probable that V. himself did not spell it right. I have, therefore, kept the form Nanzando instead of altering with modern editors to Nazianzo. The addition of 'uel nazabos' in the MSS is simply an ignorant supralineal gloss, such as occurs not infrequently, which has at some early period got into the text (cf. et Manichaeorum, p. 56 l. 7. It so happens that *uel* is the word used in such cases, not *aut* (or *siue*). Nazianzus is North of Sasima in Cappadocia.

ib. **Basilius**] 'Basil the Great' was raised to the see of Caesarea in 370 and died in 379. The quotation read at the Council was from his work *De Spiritu Sancto* (Labbe's *Concilia* III cols. 515 and 516).

2. **Gregorius**] brother of Basil and bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia, 371–395. The passage quoted at the Council was his commentary on Phil. ii 5 (Labbe's *Concilia* III cols. 515 and 516).

7. **Felicis**] i.e. Felix I, who was bishop of Rome from 269–274. He succeeded Dionysius but there seems to be considerable uncertainty about the actual facts of his life and episcopate. We know, however, that he died a martyr in the persecution under Aurelian. The quotation from his works read at the Council was from a letter to Maximus on the Incarnation of the Word (*De Verbi Incarnatione*) (Labbe *Concilia* III cols. 511 and 512).

8. **Iulii**] Bishop of Rome 337–352, notable for his defence of St Athanasius. The only extant writings of Julius are two letters (Migne, *P.L.* VIII 879–912), one addressed to the Eusebians who were a heretical party professing a modified form of Arianism,

non solum caput orbis, uerum etiam latera illi iudicio testimonium perhiberent, adhibitus est a meridie beatissimus Cyprianus, episcopus Carthaginiensis et martyr, a septentrione sanctus Ambrosius, Mediolanensis episcopus. Hi sunt igitur omnes apud Ephesum sacrato decalogi numero magistri consiliarii testes iudicesque producti, quorum beata illa synodus doctrinam tenens, consilium sequens, credens testimonio, oboediens iudicio, absque taedio praesumptione et gratia de fidei regulis pronuntiauit.

8 taedio] ABΓΔspbjr. odio c.

called after Eusebius of Nicomedia, and one to the Alexandrians, remarkable for its warmth of feeling and beauty of expression, congratulating them on the return of Athanasius and dwelling on his holy character and resoluteness in defence of the faith. The passage quoted at the Council was from a letter addressed to one Docimus (Labbe *Concilia* III cols. 509 and 510).

3. **Cyprianus**] Bishop of Carthage 248–258. The fact of his works being cited is interesting from the point of view of his reputation and prestige even in the East. Cf. Harnack *Gesch. der altchristl. Litt.* II 701. The passage quoted at the Council was from his tractate *De Eleemosyna* (Labbe *Concilia* III cols. 511 and 512).

4. **Ambrosius**] Bishop of Milan 374–397. Born in 340. Two extracts from his works were read at the Council, one from his first book *De Fide* ch. xvi, the other from the second book of the same work ch. iv (Labbe's *Concilia* III cols. 513 and 514).

5. **decalogi**] V.'s memory seems to fail him not only in regard to the order of the Fathers cited (as he himself confesses, p. 123 l. 8) but also in regard to their number. Extracts were read from the works of twelve Fathers, the two omitted by V. being Atticus, bishop of Constantinople 406–426, and Amphilochius bishop of Iconium 374–400. Perhaps, however, V. had a copy of the Acts of the Council which omitted these names, for it is to be noticed that in one MS referred to by Labbe, the two last-mentioned occupy a different place from the others.

6. **consiliarii**] 'counsellors,' 'advisers.' The use of this word as an assessor in a court of justice is found in Suetonius *Tib.* lv and *Claud.* xii.

7. **doctrinam**] Dean Milman (*Latin Christianity* I p. 164) says of the passages cited that they were of very doubtful bearing on the question raised by Nestorius. It is true that two only, those from Gregory Nazianzen and Athanasius, contain the crucial term 'theotocos,' but all bear witness to the belief which the word 'theotocos' conveys.

8. **taedio**] 'malice,' 'animosity.' See Rönsch *Semasilog. Beiträge* I p. 69.

9. **et gratia**] 'partiality,' 'favour.' The insertion of *et* with the last of three nouns is unclassical. We should rather have expected *aut*.

Quamquam multo amplior maiorum numerus adhiberi potuerit, sed necesse non fuit, quia neque multitudine testium negotii tempora occupari oportebat, et decem illos non aliud fere sensisse quam ceteros omnes conlegas suos nemo dubitabat.

Cap. XXXI.

Post quae omnia adiecimus etiam beati Cyrilli sententiam, quae gestis ipsis ecclesiasticis continetur. Namque cum lecta esset sancti Capreoli episcopi Carthaginiensis epistula, qui nihil aliud intendebat et precabatur,

4 aliud fere] ABΓscpjr. aliud (omit. fere) Δ. aliud uere bk. 6 beati] ABΓΔpbr. beatam scj.

1. **amplior...numerus**] The Fathers quoted at the Council represent the teaching of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Alexandria, Constantinople and Asia Minor. Thus they fulfil to some extent the requirement of Oecumenicity. Antiquity, however, was not so well represented, for all the Fathers cited, except Cyprian and Felix, were of comparatively recent date. But as V. himself says, others might have been produced. This is shewn by Pearson (*Creed*, Art. III) who quotes from earlier writers in support of the views of the Council, going back as far as Origen.

5. **dubitabat**] For acc. and inf. after *dubito* see p. 27 l. 7.

XXXI. *The general feeling of the Fathers at Ephesus was well expressed in a letter of Capreolus which at Cyril's motion was incorporated in the Acts of the Council, the sum of which was: 'Let novelty be driven away and antiquity maintained.' In this way they censured Nestorius for his unhallowed presumption in saying that he was the first and only man who rightly understood the Scriptures.*

8. **Capreoli**] Bishop of Carthage in 431 and died 435. The Emperor Theodosius had written to Augustine asking him to be present at the Council of Ephesus, but Aug. died before the letter was delivered. Accordingly it found its way to Capreolus, who, as metropolitan, would have summoned a meeting of African bishops to appoint a delegate, but the presence of the hostile Vandals made it impossible for travel to be undertaken in safety. He could, therefore, do no more than send a deacon, Besula, who arrived safely at Ephesus bearing with him the letter referred to in the text. In this Capreolus begged not only that novelty should be banished and antiquity preserved, but also that there should be no re-opening of the Pelagian controversy. The letter is extant both in Greek and Latin and is given in Migne *P.L.* LIII 843 and also in Labbe *Concilia* III col. 529.

nisi ut expugnata nouitate antiquitas defenderetur, ita episcopus Cyrillus prolocutus est et definiuit, quod hic quoque interponere non ab re uidetur. Ait enim in fine gestorum: *Et haec*, inquit, *quae lecta est epistula uenerandi et multum religiosi episcopi Carthaginiensis Capreoli, fidei gestorum inseretur, cuius aperta sententia est; uult etenim antiquae fidei dogmata confirmari, nouicia uero et superflue adinuenta et impie prouulgata reprobari atque damnari. Omnes episcopi adclamauerunt: Hae omnium uoces sunt, haec omnes dicimus, hoc omnium uotum est.* Quae tandem omnium uoces atque omnium uota, nisi ut, quod erat antiquitus traditum, teneretur, quod adinuentum nuper, exploderetur?

3 ab re] ABΓΔscpjr. abs re bk. *ib.* uidetur] ABscpbjr. uideatur ΓΔ. 5 multum religiosi] ABΓΔcpbjr. multireligiosi s. 6 inseretur] ABΓΔscpbjr. inseratur coni. Gallandius. *ib.* etenim] ABΓΔb[13]jr. enim scpb[2]k. 7 antiquae fidei] ABΓΔspbjr. antiqua fidei c. 8 prouulgata] ABΓΔpjr. promulgata scbk. 9 hae omnium] ABΓΔcpbjr. haec omnium sk.

4. **et haec**] The original note as it is found in the Acts of the Council in Mansi runs: *καὶ ἡ ἀναγνωσθεῖσα ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Καρθαγένης Καπραιόλου ἐμφερέσθω τῇ πίστει τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, φανερὰν ἔχουσα διάνοιαν. βούλεται γάρ, τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα κρατύνεσθαι τῆς πίστεως δόγματα, τὰ δὲ νεαρὰ καὶ ἀτόπως ἐξηυρημένα καὶ ἀσεβῶς εἰρημένα ἀποδοκιμάζεσθαι καὶ ἐκβάλλεσθαι. πάντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἀνεφώνησαν· αὗται πάντων αἱ φωναί, ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν· αὕτη πάντων ἡ εὐχή.* The Latin translation given by Mansi is as follows: et haec reuerendissimi piissimique Carthaginis episcopi Capreoli quae lecta est epistula, cum dilucidam sententiam in se contineat, fidei gestorum inseratur. Vult enim antiqua fidei dogmata confirmari, noua uero et absurde excogitata et impie diuulgata reprobari ac proscribi. Omnes episcopi simul exclamauerunt: hae omnium uoces, haec omnes adserimus, hoc omnium est uotum.

5. **fidei gestorum**] 'the authentic Acts.' Thus the letter was to have the authority of a resolution of the Council.

6. **inseretur**] In this word and in 'antiquae,' we are faced by two peculiarities possibly due to V. himself. The latter is rendered strange owing to the fact that later on (p. 134 l. 6) the passage is quoted correctly. The genitive 'antiquae' here may be due to the unconscious influence of the constantly recurring phrase 'antiqua fides.' The former is clearly a pure slip, the future being an impossible rendering of *ἐμφερέσθω*.

13. **exploderetur**] See p. 25 l. 10.

Post quae admirati sumus et praedicauimus, quanta concilii illius fuerit humilitas et sanctitas, ut tot numero sacerdotes, paene ex maiore parte metropolitani, tantae eruditionis tantaeque doctrinae, ut prope omnes possent de dogmatibus disputare, quibus propterea ipsa in unum congregatio audendi ab se aliquid et statuendi addere uideretur fiduciam, nihil tamen nouarent, nihil praesumerent, nihil sibi penitus adrogarent, sed omnimodis praecauerent, ne aliquid posteris traderent, quod ipsi a patribus non accepissent, et non solum in praesenti rem bene disponerent, uerum etiam post futuris exempla praeberent, ut et ipsi scilicet sacratae uetustatis dogmata colerent, profanae uero nouitatis adinuenta damnarent.

Inuecti sumus etiam in Nestorii sceleratam praesumptionem, quod sacram scripturam se primum et solum intellegere et omnes eos ignorasse iactaret quicumque ante se magisterii munere praediti diuina eloquia tractauissent,

2 ut tot] ABΓΔpb³jr. et tot s. et quot c. quot (omit. et) b¹². 4 possent] Abjr. possint BΓΔscp. 6 audendi] ABscpbjr. audiendi ΓΔ. *ib.* ab se] ABΓΔpb³jr. a se scb¹². 14 sumus etiam] ABΓΔspjr. etiam sumus cbk.

3. **metropolitani**] Augustine was the only bishop of lower rank than a metropolitan who was specially honoured by Theodosius with an invitation to the Council, but each metropolitan was instructed to bring with him a few bishops from his province 'quatenus et sufficientes in ipsa prouincia sanctissimis ecclesiis et synodo opportuni non desint.' Harduinus *Acta Concilii* I 1343.

6. **ab se**] i.e. on their own initiative. 'Their very gathering together in one place might seem to give them confidence to dare to decide something by themselves.' The attitude of the Council of Ephesus well bears out V.'s theory of tradition. They did not formulate any doctrine on their own authority and the conclusions against Nestorius were, without additions, taken from the collected statements of the ancient Fathers.

8. **omnimodis**] See note p. 46 l. 6.

10. **rem bene disp.**] viz. the matter of Nestorius. The clause is parallel with 'ne—traderent,' *ut*, therefore, must be understood before non solum; 'they took great care not to hand down to posterity...and that they should not only arrange satisfactorily the matter in hand but also give posterity a precedent that they should themselves respect the doctrines of sacred antiquity.'

15. **scripturam**] See note p. 1 l. 1.

uniuersos scilicet sacerdotes, uniuersos confessores et martyres, quorum alii explanassent dei legem, alii uero explanantibus consensissent uel credidissent, totam postremo etiam nunc errare et semper errasse adseueraret ecclesiam, quae, ut ipsi uidebatur, ignaros erroneosque doctores et secuta esset et sequeretur.

CAP. XXXII.

(43) Quae omnia licet cumulate abundeque sufficerent ad *profanas* quasque *nouitates* obruendas et exstinguendas, tamen, ne quid deesse tantae plenitudini uideretur, ad extremum adiecimus geminam apostolicae sedis auctoritatem, unam scilicet sancti papae Sixti qui nunc Romanam

2 martyres] ΑΓΔscpbjr. martyras B. 9 ad extremum] ABΓΔspbjr. ad postremum c. 11 Sixti] ΑΓΔ. Sisti Bp. Xysti scbjr.

4. **errasse adseueraret**] It has already been said (p. 40 l. 5) that new light has been shed recently on the views of Nestorius. With the discovery of the Book of Heraclides, we became possessed of his final apology (see p. 48 l. 9). Dr Loofs (*Nestorius and his place in the history of Christian doctrine*, Camb. 1914) maintains that N. was really in harmony with Leo and that he could have accepted the definition of Chalcedon if the chance had been given him. He affirms that so far was the Christology of N. from being novel that it was the traditional Christology of the West. It may with truth be said that N. was quite unaware that his teaching was novel. He had received it from such venerated teachers as Diodore and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

XXXII. *To complete the weight of testimony to the value of antiquity, lest anything should seem lacking, the authority of the Apostolic See must be added. This is illustrated by the two-fold authority* (i) *of pope Sixtus, now living, who on the principles set forth in this treatise condemned Nestorius, and* (ii) *of his predecessor Celestine who in the same spirit censured certain priests in Gaul who were fostering novelties.*

10. **apostolicae sedis**] See p. 22 l. 12.

ib. **auctoritatem**] For V.'s attitude towards the Roman see and the respect with which he treats the bishops of Rome see note p. 24 l. 10. The policy of V. is obviously to conciliate Sixtus, especially in view of the fact that Celestine had already spoken in favour of Augustine. He wished to get Celestine's successor on his side.

11. **papae**] For the use of this word see note p. 24 l. 6.

ib. **Sixti**] Sixtus III (sometimes spelt Xystus) was bishop of Rome from 432–441. He had been in office for two years when V. wrote. See note on *triennium* p. 121 l. 19.

ecclesiam uenerandus inlustrat, alteram decessoris sui beatae memoriae papae Caelestini quam hic quoque interponere necessarium iudicauimus. Ait itaque sanctus papa Sixtus in epistula, quam de causa Nestorii Antiocheno misit episcopo: *Ergo*, inquit, *quia, sicut ait apostolus, fides una est, quae et uincenter obtinuit, dicenda credamus et tenenda dicamus.* Quae sunt tandem illa credenda et dicenda? Sequitur et ait: *Nihil ultra*, inquit, *liceat nouitati, quia nihil addi conuenit uetustati; perspicua maiorum fides et credulitas nulla caeni permixtione turbetur.*

6 et uincenter] ABΓ (uincentur) Δr. euidenter scpbj. 7 dicamus] ABΓΔpbjr (ita quoque epist. apud Vat. cod.). credamus sc. *ib.* quae sunt] ABΓΔpbjr. omit. sc. 8 sequitur] ABΓΔpbjr. prosequitur sc.

2. **Caelestini**] Bishop of Rome 422–432. This pope took a prominent part in the deposition of Nestorius, and by his attitude in that matter he did much towards increasing the power of the see of Rome.

4. **epistula**] The letter in question was written to John, bishop of Antioch, in 433, expressing joy at his reconciliation with Cyril of Alexandria. John had been unavoidably delayed on his journey to Ephesus and Cyril had refused to wait for him. Hence the quarrel between them became acute and the two stood mutually excommunicated. The Emperor Theodosius intervened, and after some reluctance on the part of Cyril they came to terms and were reconciled. The letter of Sixtus (one of eight that survive) is given in Labbe's *Concilia* III cols. 1261 and 1262; also in Migne, *P.L.* tom. L, col. 609.

ib. **Antiocheno ... episcopo**] John was bishop of Antioch 429–448.

5. **fides una**] Eph. iv 5.

6. **et uincenter**] 'which has also triumphantly prevailed.' This reading of the four MSS is undoubtedly correct. It is the reading of the Vatican codex in which this letter is preserved. The letter itself was first edited by Baronius, and afterwards by Coustant (*Ep. Rom. Pont.* Paris, 1721) and Migne (*P.L.* L 606). Baronius wrote '*et uincentes*,' whence Mansi and Labbe do the same with a marginal note: 'citat hunc locum Vincentius Lirinensis "quae euidenter obtinuit."' Coustant and Migne in their editions of the letter preserve the right reading 'et uincenter.' Strangely enough in all editions of the Commonitorium, from the editio princeps to Jülicher, 'euidenter' is substituted for 'et uincenter.'

9. **nouitati**] 'Let there be no concession to novelty, because nothing ought to be added to antiquity.' V. is justified in claiming the support of the bishops of Rome, contemporary with and prior to himself, for the principles for which he stands.

10. **credulitas**] Here used in a good sense, almost as a synonym with *fides*; 'easiness of belief.' Usually like *credulus* it bears a derogatory sense.

Omnino apostolice, ut maiorum credulitatem perspicuitatis lumine ornaret, nouicias uero profanitates caeni permixtione describeret. Sed et sanctus papa Caelestinus pari modo eademque sententia. Ait enim in epistula quam Gallorum sacerdotibus misit arguens eorum coniuentiam quod antiquam fidem silentio destituentes *profanas nouitates* exsurgere paterentur: *Merito*, inquit, *causa nos respicit, si silentio foueamus errorem. Ergo corripiantur huiusmodi; non sit his, liberum habere pro uoluntate sermonem.* Hic aliquis fortasse addubitet, quinam sint illi quos *habere*

3 describeret] ABscpbjr. discriberet ΓΔ. 7 causa nos] ABΓΔscbjr. causa non p. 8 foueamus errorem] ABΓscpbjr. foueamus errores Δ. faueamus errori epist. apud Labbe. 9 his] ABΓΔpbjr. hiis s. iis c.

4. **epistula**] The writing of this letter was one of Celestine's last actions. Prosper and Hilary had made a journey to Rome in order to complain to Celestine of the connivance of certain bishops of South Gaul at the unsound teaching of their clergy, and in particular of treating with disrespect the memory of Augustine, then recently dead. He wrote, therefore, remonstrating with their teaching as an innovation, and defending Augustine as a teacher, and as a man who had lived a holy life. This letter is No. 21 among the letters of Celestine in Migne, *P.L.* L 528 ff.

5. **coniuentiam**] post-class. and rare 'connivance.' It is to be noticed that V. does not mention what false views the letter of Celestine was written to combat. He almost implies that this also is 'de causa Nestorii.' The reason is obvious. The doctrine complained of in the letter of Celestine was the emphasis laid in South Gaul on the co-operation of the human with the Divine Will. The Gallic bishops referred to were Venerius bishop of Massilia and five other prelates, who, anxious to preserve the doctrine of free-will, had formulated views known as Semipelagian, with which V. sympathized. It is the first time in Church History that two striving parties in the Church appeal to the same Papal writing.

7. **paterentur**] reported reason, 'because, as he said, they were allowing.'

9. **his liberum**] The natural punctuation would be after liberum, thus: 'non sit his liberum, habere pro uol. serm.' Cf. Eucherius (Migne, *P.L.* L 773) 'mihi insuper liberum erit, aliqua extrinsecus inserere.' But that V. himself took *liberum* with *sermonem* is clear from the following sentence: 'quos habere prohibeat liberum pro uoluntate sermonem.'

10. **illi**] 'Hunc locum Vincentius Lirinensis sic a uero sensu contra Prosperum et Hilarium detorquet, ut ipse haud iniuriâ in erroris Semipelagiani suspicionem ueniat' (Benedictine Editors of Augustine's works, vol. x).

prohibeat *liberum pro uoluntate sermonem*, uetustatis praedicatores an nouitatis adinuentores. Ipse dicat et dubitationem legentium ipse dissoluat. Sequitur enim: *desinat*, inquit, *si ita res est*, id est: si ita est, ut apud me quidam urbes et prouincias uestras criminantur, quod eas quibusdam nouitatibus consentire noxia dissimulatione faciatis, *desinat* itaque, inquit, *si ita res est, incessere nouitas uetustatem*. Ergo haec fuit beati Caelestini beata sententia, ut non uetustas cessaret obruere nouitatem, sed potius nouitas desineret incessere uetustatem.

CAP. XXXIII.

Quibus apostolicis catholicisque decretis quisquis refragatur, insultet primum omnium necesse est memoriae

2 dicat et] ABΓΔscpjr. dicat (omit. et) b. 9 ut non] ABΓΔ pb[3]jr. non ut scb[12].

It is significant how V. interprets this letter, turning it from the Semipelagians and against those in whose favour it was written. He can only make use of the two passages which he quotes, and these he wrests from their original context and gives to them a fresh interpretation. With the principle laid down by Celestine: 'desinat incessere nouitas uetustatem,' V. cordially agrees. But who, he wishes to ask, are the real introducers of novelty? The Massilians, as Prosper represents, or their calumniators? Not the Massilians, for they appeal, as is well known, to antiquity, but Prosper himself and the rest of Augustine's followers (see Koch *Vincenz von Lerin und Gennadius*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 51). At the same time V. wishes to imply that the accusation brought by Prosper against the Gallic clergy is substantially false. See Introd. § 2.

5. **quidam**] i.e. Prosper and Hilary, both of Aquitania.

6. **dissimulatione**] 'negligence,' 'carelessness.' In this sense only found in late Latin.

XXXIII. *Conclusion. Those who resist this cumulative testimony are trampling under foot not only the authority of the Roman See, but of the whole Church including St Paul himself. But those who, heeding the warning to Timothy* (1 *Tim.* vi 20) *and to the Galatians* (*Gal.* i 9), *condemn Pelagius, Caelestius, Nestorius, and other heretics, prove themselves true sons of mother Church and remain faithful to the holy faith of the holy Fathers even unto death.*

12. **insultet**] The last thing of which V. wished to be accused was of acting in opposition to the Apostolic See. Therefore the difficulty that Celestine had definitely spoken in favour of Augustine V. surmounts by shewing that he is merely supporting Celestine's own dictum, viz. 'that novelty must cease to assail antiquity.'

sancti Caelestini, qui statuit, ut desineret *incessere nouitas uetustatem*, deinde inrideat definita sancti Sixti, qui censuit ne *ultra quicquam liceat nouitati, quia nihil addi conuenit uetustati*, sed et beati Cyrilli statuta contemnat, qui uenerandi Capreoli zelum magna praedicatione laudauit, quod *antiqua fidei dogmata confirmari* cuperet, *nouicia uero adinuenta damnari*, Ephesinam quoque synodum, id est, totius paene orientis sanctorum episcoporum iudicata proculcet, quibus diuinitus placuit, nihil aliud posteris credendum decernere, nisi quod sacrata sibique in Christo consentiens sanctorum patrum tenuisset antiquitas, quique etiam uociferantes et adclamantes uno ore testificati sunt, has esse omnium uoces, hoc omnes optare, hoc omnes censere, ut, sicut uniuersi fere ante Nestorium haeretici, contemnentes uetustatem et adserentes nouitatem, damnati forent, ita ipse quoque Nestorius, auctor nouitatis et impugnator uetustatis, condemnaretur. Quorum sacrosancta et caelestis gratiae munere inspirata consensio si cui displicet, quid aliud sequitur, nisi ut profanitatem Nestorii adserat non iure damnatam, ad extremum quoque uniuersam Christi ecclesiam et magistros eius apostolos et prophetas, praecipueque tamen beatum apostolum Paulum uelut quaedam purgamenta contemnat, illam, quod a

4 contemnat] ΓΔ(contempnat)scbjr. condemnat ABp. 7 Ephesinam] Ascbjr. Ephysiam B. Ephesiam ΓΔ. 8 iudicata] ABΓscpbjr. indicta Δ. 17 sacrosancta] ABΓΔscpjr. sacrosanctae bk. 18 si cui] ABΓΔpbjr. cui (omit. si) sc.

4. **contemnat**] A subjunctive is, of course, necessary, parallel with *insultet* and *inrideat* (see below l. 23). *Condemnat* of A and B is incorrect.

5. **zelum**] This word came in, doubtless, through the influence of the Vg. (cf. Num. xxv 11), and Jerome, who used the word for ζῆλος.

6. **antiqua**] Cf. p. 128 l. 7, where the MSS read 'antiquae.'

10. **nisi quod**] 'except what the sacred antiquity of the holy fathers, unanimous in Christ, had held,' i.e. sacred antiquity *consisting* of the fathers.

12. **uociferantes**] See p. 128 l. 9.

14. **uniuersi**] = 'omnes,' see p. 8 l. 4.

16. **nouitatis**] = 'nouae rei.' The abstract term is here used to balance 'uetustatis.'

23. **purgamenta**] 1 Cor. iv 13. Vg. 'purgamenta huius mundi

religione colendae et excolendae semel sibi traditae fidei numquam recesserit, illum uero, qui scripserit: *O Timothee, depositum custodi, deuitans profanas uocum nouitates*, et item: *Si quis uobis* adnuntiauerit *praeterquam quod accepistis, anathema sit?* Quodsi neque apostolica definita neque ecclesiastica decreta temeranda sunt, quibus secundum sacrosanctam uniuersitatis et antiquitatis consensionem cuncti semper haeretici et ad extremum Pelagius, Caelestius, Nestorius iure meritoque damnati sunt, necesse est profecto omnibus deinceps catholicis, qui sese ecclesiae matris legitimos filios probare student, ut sanctae sanctorum patrum fidei inhaereant, adglutinentur, immoriantur, *profanas* uero profanorum *nouitates* detestentur, horrescant, insectentur, persequantur.

Haec sunt fere, quae duobus commonitoriis latius disserta aliquanto nunc breuius recapitulandi lege con-

1 colendae] scbjr. colenda ABΓΔ. *ib.* sibi] AΓΔscbjr. tibi B. 5 quodsi] BΓΔscpbjr. quod (omit. si) A. 12 inhaereant] ABΓΔscpb³jr. omit. b¹². *ib.* adglutinentur] ABΓΔpbjr. adglutinent sc. *ib.* immoriantur] BΓΔscpbjr. immorentur A.

facti sumus' (*περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου*).

1. **religione**] 'religious duty,' 'the Church, because she has never deviated from the duty of tending and guarding carefully the faith.' For colo and excolo see note p. 92 l. 5.

2. **recesserit**] causal.

ib. **illum**] i.e. beatum apostolum Paulum, contrasted with *illam*, i.e. ecclesiam.

ib. **O Timothee**] 1 Tim. vi 20.

4. **si quis**] Gal. i 9. For 'adnuntiauerit' instead of 'euangelizauerit' (Vg.) see p. 102 l. 2.

5. **definita**] See p. 21 l. 15.

7. **uniuersitatis et ant.**] For this double form of the threefold rule see p. 121 l. 2 and note.

10. **matris leg. filios**] 'genuine sons of mother Church,' cf. p. 111 l. 5.

12. **adglutinentur**] The use here of this word doubtless comes from such phrases in the Vg. as Jer. xiii 11 'adglutinaui mihi omnem domum Israel.'

ib. **immoriantur**] Not 'to die for it,' as Bindley translates, a meaning that this compound never had, but 'to die *in* it,' which is the regular use of the word in poetry and post-Aug. prose. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1 vii 85 immoritur studiis. Cf. Bishop Ken 'As for my Religion, I dye in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West.'

16. **recap. lege**] A strange use of lege, almost = causâ. The law or rule of recapitulation demands brevity. Cf. 'hac lege' p. 115 l. 4.

stricta sunt, ut memoria mea, cui adminiculandae ista confecimus, et commonendi adsiduitate reparetur et prolixitatis fastidio non obruatur.

Explicit tractatus Peregrini contra haereticos.

1. **memoria**] Clearly V. is thinking of his readers, and as the earlier part of the second book had contained a large mass of matter relating to the Ephesian Council, he drew up this summary through fear that many readers, judging from his own feelings, might through weariness (prolixitatis fastidio) be tempted to skip it or forget it.

2. **commonendi**] Cf. p. 43 l. 7.

4. **explicit**] This note which is to be found in three of the MSS was doubtless written by the same person who wrote the title (q.v.) and the remark about the loss of the second book (see p. 119 l. 7). It may be assumed that it is the work of the original editor, for the last three words are used by Gennadius in 490, i.e. little more than fifty years after the treatise was written.

INDEX I

SCRIPTURE TEXTS

(quoted or alluded to)

Genesis iii 18, p. 92 l. 8; ix 21, p. 28 l. 11
Exodus viii 6, 16, 21, p. 36 l. 2; xxv 31, p. 22 l. 3; xxxi 2, p. 88 l. 2
Deut. xiii 1–3, p. 38, p. 39 ll. 1, 5, p. 41 l. 7, p. 45 l. 7, p. 73 l. 3, p. 78 ll. 3, 11; xxxii 7, p. 1 l. 1
Psalms xxi (xxii) 16, p. 62 l. 1; xlv (xlvi) 10, p. 4 l. 3; xc (xci) 11, 12, p. 110 l.6
Prov. iii 1, p. 2 l. 1; viii 22, p. 61 l. 4; ix 15–18, p. 85 l. 16; xxii 17, p. 2 l. 1; xxii 28, p. 83 l. 6, p. 105 l. 14
Eccles. x 8, p. 83 l. 8, p. 105 l. 14
Isai. vi 3, p. 65 l. 14
Ecclus. viii 14, p. 83 l. 7
Ezek. xviii 23, 32, p. 99 l. 9; xxxiii 11, p. 99 l. 9
Zech. iv 2, p. 22 l. 3
Matt. iii 12, p. 80 l. 11; iv 5, 6, p. 107 l. 10; vii 15, p. 40 l. 6, p. 104 l. 8; vii 16, 20, p. 105 l. 8; xiii 24, 25, p. 87 l. 2, p. 91 l. 16; xiii 38, p. 27 l. 4; xv 13, p. 91 l. 14; xxv 15, p. 87 l. 12
Joh. i 29, p. 104 l. 12; iii 13, p. 61 l. 1; iv 10, 14, p. 82 l. 7; viii 44, p. 107 l. 3; x 1, 12, p. 105 l. 2; x 30, p. 53 l. 1; xiv 28, p. 53 l. 1; xxi 17, p. 42 l. 14
Acts viii 20 foll., p. 100 l. 1; ix 15, p. 35 l. 16; xi 28, p. 116 l. 11; xxi 10, p. 116, l. 11
Rom. v 14, p. 99 l. 4; vii 13, p. 49 l. 2; xvi 17, 18, p. 30 l. 5
I Cor. i 10, p. 117 l. 4; ii 8, p. 61 l. 2, p. 108 l. 16; iii 9, p. 92 l. 11; iii 16, 17, p. 97 l. 5, p. 108 l. 16; iv 13, p. 134 l. 23; v 11, p. 96 l. 5; vii 17, p. 117 l. 11; x 13, p. 72 l. 9; xi 19, p. 80 l. 4; xii 28, p. 116 l. 8; xiii 2, p. 37 l. 9; xiv 33, p. 117 l. 8; xiv 36–38, p. 117 l. 15, p. 118 l. 2
II Cor. xi 13–15, p. 106 ll. 4, 14; xii 2–4, p. 35 l. 17
Gal. i 6, 7, p. 29 l. 14; i 8, 9, p. 31 l. 13, p. 33 l. 6, p. 102 l. 2, p. 135 l. 4; v 16, p. 34 l. 15; v 25, 26, p. 34 l.3
Ephes. i 23, p. 79 l. 2; iv 5, p. 131 l. 5; iv 11, p. 116 l. 15
Col. i 18, p. 98 l. 8
I Thess. iv 8, p. 117 l. 2
I Tim. i 19, p. 31 l. 1, p. 101 l. 10; v 12, p. 30 l. 3; v 13, p. 30 l. 17; vi 4, 5, p. 30 l. 15; vi 20, 21, p. 83 l. 11, p. 86 l. 8, p. 87, p. 96 l. 1, p. 135 l. 2
II Tim. i 11, p. 35 l. 16; ii 16, 17, p. 31 l. 2; iii 6, 7, p. 30 l. 10; iii 8, p. 30 l. 14; iii 9, p. 31 l. 5; iv 3, 4, p. 30 l. 1
Titus i 10, 11, p. 30 l. 12
Hebr. iii 2, p. 61 l. 4; x 27, p. 3 l. 9
I Peter i 19, p. 104 l. 12
II Joh. 10, 11, p. 96 l. 6
Jude 3, p. 32 l. 9; 6, p. 32 l. 12
Apoc. i 12, p. 22 l. 3; iv 8, p. 65 l. 14; v 1–5, p. 19 l. 4

INDEX II

NAMES AND SUBJECTS

Adam p. 99 l. 4
Africa p. 14 ll. 4, 7, p. 25 l. 1
Africanum concilium p. 26 l. 9, p. 27 l. 10
Agabus p. 116 l. 11
Agrippinus p. 23 l. 5
Alexander Severus p. 70 l. 13
Alexandria p. 71 l. 9, p. 124 ll. 1, 6
Ambrose p. 18 l. 10, p. 20 l. 1, p. 126 l. 4
Analogy between growth of body and of religious thought p. 89 l. 10 foll.
Andrew the apostle p. 32 l. 2
Angels p. 32 l. 12, p. 65 l. 14
Antidosis (communicatio idiomatum) p. 60 l. 12, p. 65 l. 8
Antioch, bishop of (John) p. 131 l. 4
Antiochus (consul in 431) p. 122 l. 2
Antiquity as part of the threefold rule p. 10 l. 10, p. 98 l. 16, p. 111 l. 12, p. 121 l. 2, p. 135 l. 7
Apelles p. 76 l. 1
Apollinaris p. 9 l. 2, p. 38 l. 10, p. 43 l. 5, p. 45 l. 2, p. 46 ll. 1, 9, p. 47 l. 15, p. 48 l. 1, p. 49 ll. 14, 16, p. 64 l. 4
Apostolic See p. 22 l. 12, p. 24 l. 7, p. 130 l. 10
Arians p. 15 l. 1, p. 16 l. 5, p. 54 l. 4
Ariminum, perfidy of, p. 15 l. 3 note, p. 19 l. 10, p. 122 l. 4
Arius p. 9 l. 1, p. 99 l. 6
Arles, Council of, p. 26 l. 9 note, p. 27 l. 1
Asia p. 122 l. 1
Athanasius p. 124 l. 2
Augustinianism referred to p. 25 l. 2 note, p. 28 l. 10 note, p. 33 l. 10 note, p. 38 l. 2 note, p. 109 l. 10 foll., p. 115 l. 9, p. 132 l. 10

Baptism, iteration of, p. 23 l. 8, p. 27 l. 10
Baluze (his editions of the Commonitorium described) Introd. ch. 7 (i)
Basil of Caesarea p. 125 ll. 1, 4
Bassus (consul in 431) p. 122 l. 1
Bellona (goddess of war) p. 16 l. 6
Benedictine Editors of Augustine's works (charge V. with Semipelagian views) p. 132 l. 10 note
Besula (deacon) p. 127 l. 8 note
Beseleel p. 88 l. 2
Bishops, exile of p. 17 l. 3, p. 18 l. 13; crowns of p. 20 l. 10; tears of p. 21 l. 1; heirs of the true Faith, p. 21 l. 15; the spiritual descendants of Timothy p. 86 l. 13; number at Council of Ephesus p. 122 l. 5

Caesarea p. 125 l. 1
Canon of Scripture p. 8 l. 1, p. 23 l. 6, p. 111 l. 9, p. 114 l. 13, p. 120 ll. 4, 6

Capreolus (letter of) p. 127 l. 8, p. 128 l. 5, p. 134 l. 5
Cappadocia p. 124 l. 9
Cappadocians p. 125 l. 1
Carthage, Agrippinus bishop of p. 23 l. 5; Council of p. 26 l. 9; Cyprian bishop of p. 126 l. 3; Capreolus bishop of p. 127 l. 8, p. 128 l. 5
Catholic, meaning of p. 10 l. 8
Celestine, bishop of Rome p. 131 l. 2, p. 132 l. 3, p. 133 l. 8, p. 134 l. 1
Celestius, follower of Pelagius p. 10 l. 1, p. 135 l. 8; called 'prodigiosus' p. 99 l. 4
Chorus apostolorum p. 32 l. 3
Christotocos p. 48 l. 6
Cicero quoted p. 72 l. 6
Commonitorium, meaning of p. 6 l. 3 note; date of p. 121 l. 19
Communicatio idiomatum p. 60 l. 12, p. 65 l. 8
Consent, as part of the three-fold rule p. 11 l. 1, p. 98 l. 16, p. 111 l. 12, p. 121 l. 2, p. 135 l. 7
Constantius II p. 16 l. 6
Corruption of Origen's books discussed p. 73 l. 11 foll.
Councils, value of p. 12 l. 12, p. 112 l. 7, p. 121 l. 9 (See also Introd. ch. 3)
Cyprian p. 27 l. 6, p. 126 l. 3
Cyril of Alexandria p. 123 l. 6, p. 124 l. 6, p. 127 l. 6, p. 128 l. 2, p. 134 l. 4

Deposit of Faith p. 83 l. 11, p. 86 l. 8, p. 87, p. 96 l. 2, p. 135 l. 3
Development of doctrine pp. 88–95 (See also Introd. ch. 3)
Dispensation of God, claimed by heretics p. 110 l. 5
Divinity of Christ expounded pp. 59–63
Docetism, preachers of p. 57 l. 1
Doctors called tractatores p. 87 l. 17, p. 116 l. 11
Donatists p. 14 l. 3, p. 27 l. 9
Donatus p. 8 l. 8, p. 14 l. 3, p. 38 l. 10
Duad of Sons, charge against Nestorius p. 50 l. 4
Dualism, Manichaean p. 56 l. 11 note

End of world referred to p. 3 l. 8
Ephesus, Council of p. 122 l. 1 foll.
Epistle of Capreolus p. 127 l. 9; of Celestine p. 132 l. 7; of Felix p. 125 l. 7; of Julius p. 125 l. 8; of Sixtus p. 131 l. 4; of Stephanus p. 25 l. 1
Errors of teachers, why permitted p. 37 l. 1 foll.
Eunomius p. 9 l. 1, p. 103 l. 4
Eusebius Hist. Eccl., Rufinus' translation of (known to V.) p. 70 l. 12
Examples from Church History p. 40 l. 2 foll.; value of p. 78 l. 6
Excursus on the Trinity and the Incarnation pp. 45–66

Fatalism, danger of p. 110 l. 5
Faith, Rule of (Vincentius' famous canon) p. 10 l. 6, p. 35 l. 15, p. 85 l. 7, p. 98 l. 14 (See also Introd. ch. 3)
Fathers, appeal to p. 11 l. 5, p. 13 l. 3, pp. 112–118, p. 121 l. 11; V.'s theory derived from p. 2 l. 5, p. 7 ll. 1, 2, p. 111 l. 8
Felix, bishop of Rome p. 125 l. 7
Fires of Hell, fifth century conception of p. 5 l. 5, p. 27 ll. 4, 11
Forgetfulness of Vincentius p. 3 l. 1, p. 6 l. 3, p. 63 l. 15, p. 123 l. 12, p. 136 l. 1
Franzelin's view of the Vincentian Canon p. 95 l. 3 (See also Introd. ch. 3)
Fraud, bishops deceived by p. 15 l. 4, p. 19 l. 10
Free-will p. 99 l. 1, p. 101 l. 2, p. 109 l. 10 note
Furia, personified p. 16 l. 6

Galatians p. 31 l. 9, p. 34 ll. 1, 2
Gallic bishops, letter of Celestine to p. 132 l. 4

Gehenna p. 27 l. 4
Gennadius' account of Vincentius, p. 1 title (note on) p. 119 l. 7, p. 136 l. 4 (See also Introd. ch. 1)
Gentiles p. 37 l. 12, p. 41 l. 2, p. 71 l. 7, p. 76 l. 1
Gnostics p. 56 l. 11, p. 76 l. 1
Grace, heretical view of p. 99 l. 3, p. 110 l. 2
Gratian, Emperor p. 18 l. 10
Greece p. 125 l. 5
Greek p. 42 l. 13, p. 69 l. 2, p. 75 l. 1
Gregory of Nazianzus p. 124 l. 9; of Nyssa p. 125 l. 2
Growth of doctrine pp. 88–95

Ham p. 28 l. 11
Harbour of refuge afforded by religion p. 5 l. 1, p. 82 l. 1
Head of world (Rome) p. 126 l. 1
Hebrew, Origen's knowledge of p. 69 l. 2
Heretics, perversion of Scripture p. 8 l. 5; lists of p. 8 l. 8, p. 38 l. 10, p. 75 l. 15, p. 99, p. 103 l. 4, p. 135 l. 8; obscure writings quoted by p. 28 l. 2; Scripture often used by p. 102 l. 5 foll.
Hermogenes p. 76 l. 1
Hilary of Poitiers p. 16 l. 6 note, p. 17 l. 1 note, p. 77 l. 3; of Aquitania p. 133 l. 5
Homoousios (consubstantialis) p. 52 l. 9, p. 95 l. 13
Human nature in Christ pp. 55–63
Humility of Vincentius p. 2 l. 3, p. 5 l. 3, p. 37 l. 5, p. 121 l. 17; of Ephesine Fathers p. 129 ll. 6, 7

Jewel of Catholic Truth p. 93 l. 3
Jews p. 41 l. 2, p. 46 l. 2, p. 76 l. 1
John, bishop of Antioch, p. 131 l. 5
John the Apostle p. 32 l. 2, p. 58 l. 3
Jovinian p. 9 l. 2, p. 103 l. 5
Judaizers p. 31 l. 7
Julia Mammaea p. 70 l. 12, p. 71 l. 1
Julian of Eclanum p. 118 l. 14
Jülicher (his edition of the Commonitorium described) Introd. ch. 7 (i)
Julius, bishop of Rome p. 125 l. 8

Kings, Books of, called 'Regna' p. 102 l. 7

Latinity and style of V. p. 5 l. 10 (See also Introd. ch. 4)
Law Divine (the Bible) p. 7 l. 10, p. 26 l. 4, p. 37 l. 5, p. 69, l. 10, p. 103 l. 9, p. 105 l. 5, p. 106 l. 7, p. 107 l. 1, p. 113 l. 4
Leo's Tome resembles Commonitorium p. 52 l. 8 note, p. 53 l. 7, p. 60 l. 12
Lerins, monastery in p. 4 l. 1
Levites, used for deacons p. 17 l. 2, p. 98 l. 4
Life a warfare p. 4 l. 5
Life eternal p. 3 l. 7; present p. 5 l. 4
Limbs of Satan p. 108 l. 11
Lucretius quoted p. 93 l. 10, p. 104 l. 2

Macedonius p. 9 l. 1
Manes, or Mani p. 56 l. 11 note
Manicheans p. 56 ll. 7, 11
Manna, of Catholic doctrine p. 31 l. 11
Marcion p. 75 l. 15
Mariolatry p. 62 l. 6 note
Marius Mercator p. 6 l. 3 note, p. 99 l. 3 note; supposed to be author of this treatise Introd. ch. 1 p. 1 note
Mary, Virgin p. 46 l. 6, p. 47 l. 5, p. 48 l. 6, p. 59 l. 19, p. 60 l. 10, p. 62 l. 7, p. 63 l. 8
Massilians, Semipelagian views of p. 132 l. 10, p. 133 l. 5. See also Introd. ch. 2; letter of Celestine to p. 132 l. 4
Maximilla p. 77 l. 8 note, p. 78 l. 1
Milan p. 126 l. 4
Monarchian heresy p. 8 l. 8, p. 42 l. 1
Monastery p. 4 l. 1, p. 17 l. 2

Montanus p. 77 l. 8
Moses p. 37 ll. 7, 13, p. 40 l. 2, p. 41 l. 6, p. 42 ll. 4, 15, p. 45 l. 7, p. 77 l. 7, p. 102 l. 7

Nau (livre d'Héraclide) p. 40 l. 9 note, p. 48 ll. 6, 9 note, p. 130 l. 4 note
Nazianzus p. 125 l. 1
Nestorius p. 10 l. 1, p. 40 l. 5, p. 41 l. 8, p. 45 l. 2, p. 46 l. 1, p. 48 l. 1, p. 49 l. 14, p. 50 l. 4, p. 64 l. 6, p. 123 l. 5, p. 129 l. 14, p. 131 l. 4, p. 134 ll. 14, 16, 20, p. 135 l. 9
Noah p. 28 l. 12, p. 29 l. 4
Novatian p. 8 l. 8, p. 99 l. 8
Nyssa p. 125 l. 3

Obiectiones Vincentianae Introd. ch. 2; quoted in this treatise p. 101 l. 2
Oecumenical Councils p. 12 l. 12, p. 95 ll. 1, 8, p. 114 l. 9, p. 119 l. 3, p. 121 ll. 9, 19, p. 123 l. 14
Oecumenicity, as part of the three-fold rule p. 10 l. 10, p. 21 l. 16, p. 98 l. 16, p. 111 l. 12, p. 121 l. 1, p. 135 l. 7
Oracles p. 26 l. 4, p. 83 l. 6, p. 104 l. 1
Origen p. 67 l. 6, p. 72 ll. 6, 11, p. 73 l. 11, p. 74 ll. 5, 6, p. 75 l. 1; views attributed to in V.'s day p. 67 l. 6 note; books of tampered with p. 73 l. 11; knowledge of Hebrew displayed by p. 69 l. 2

Pannonia p. 41 l. 14
Papa, V.'s use of term p. 24 l. 6, p. 130 l. 11, p. 131 ll. 2, 3, p. 132 l. 3
Papal authority in V.'s day p. 24 l. 10 note, p. 130 l. 10
Paul the Apostle p. 29 l. 13, p. 35 l. 15, p. 52 ll. 1, 3, 4, p. 58 ll. 5, 6, 7, p. 80 l. 3, p. 86 l. 7, p. 96 l. 1, p. 106 l. 3, p. 116 l. 8, p. 134 l. 22
Paul of Samosata p. 103 l. 4
Pelagians p. 36 l. 3, p. 118 l. 13
Pelagius p. 9 l. 2, p. 98 l. 18, p. 135 l. 8
Peregrinus, nom de plume of V. p. 1 Title, p. 2 l. 3, p. 136 l. 4
Peter of Alexandria p. 124 l. 1
Peter the Apostle p. 32 l. 2, p. 52 ll. 1, 2, 4, p. 58 l. 3
Philip the Arabian, first Christian Emperor p. 71 l. 3
Photinus p. 9 l. 1, p. 38 l. 10, p. 42 l. 1, p. 43 l. 5, p. 45 ll. 3, 13, p. 46 ll. 1, 8, p. 49 ll. 14, 15, p. 64 l. 2
Plagues of Egypt, heretics likened to p. 36 l. 2
Porphyry p. 44 l. 7, p. 71 l. 8
Praxeas p. 76 l. 1
Predestinarianism p. 25 l. 2 note, p. 28 l. 10 note, p. 36 l. 3 note, p. 110 l. 1 foll., p. 115 l. 12. See also Introd. ch. 2
Priscilla (or Prisca), follower of Montanus, p. 77 l. 8 note, p. 78 l. 1
Priscillian p. 9 l. 2, p. 100 l. 3, p. 103 l. 4
Prosper of Aquitania p. 133 l. 5

Quicumque Vult, relation to Commonitorium p. 45 l. 12 note, pp. 49–54, p. 66 l. 1 note. See also Introd. ch. 6

Rebaptism p. 23 l. 8, p. 27 l. 10
Regna, used for 'Kings' p. 102 l. 7
Religion a harbour of refuge p. 5 l. 1, p. 14 l. 9, p. 82 l. 1
Revision of treatise promised by V. p. 6 l. 8
Rome, capital of world p. 126 l. 1
Rome, bishops of, Celestine p. 131 l. 2, p. 132 l. 3, p. 133 l. 8, p. 134 l. 1; Felix p. 125 l. 7; Julius p. 125 l. 8; Sixtus p. 130 l. 11, p. 131 l. 4, p. 134 l. 2; Stephen p. 24 l. 6
Rome, Emperors of, Alexander Severus p. 70 l. 13; Constantius II p. 16 l. 6; Gratian p. 18 l. 10; Philip the Arabian p. 71 l. 3; Theodosius II p. 40 l. 9; Valens p. 16 l. 6 note

Rule of Faith, as a theological phrase p. 82 l. 15, p. 113 l. 5, p. 119 l. 4; V.'s famous canon p. 10 l. 6, p. 35 l. 15, p. 85 l. 7, p. 98 l. 14

Sabellius p. 8 l. 8, p. 99 l. 7
Sallust quoted p. 15 l. 11
Satan tempts Christ p. 107 l. 10; uses Scripture p. 107 l. 8, limbs of p. 108 l. 11
Sichard, his editio princeps of the Commonitorium described Introd. ch. 7 (i)
Simon Magus p. 100 l. 1
Sirmium p. 41 l. 14 note, p. 42 l. 1
Sixtus II, bishop of Rome p. 130 l. 11, p. 131 l. 4, p. 134 l. 2
Stephen, bishop of Rome p. 24 l. 6
'Substance' as a theological term p. 47 ll. 9, 13, 15, p. 48 l. 2, p. 50 ll. 12, 13, 14, p. 51 ll. 3, 11, p. 52 ll. 6, 10, p. 55 ll. 4, 5, p. 59 ll. 5, 13, p. 64 ll. 11, 14, 17

Te Deum p. 32 l. 3, p. 65 l. 14, p. 98 l. 5
Tertullian p. 74 l. 8, p. 76 l. 5; V.'s theory derived from p. 2 l. 5 note, p. 111 l. 8 note
Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria p. 124 l. 4
Theotocos p. 48 l. 6, p. 63 ll. 1, 8
Timothy p. 83 l. 11, p. 86 ll. 8, 12, p. 87 l. 17, p. 96 l. 1, p. 135 l. 2; represented today by the body of bishops p. 86 l. 12
Tradition, value of p. 7 l. 11, p. 72 l. 15, p. 87 l. 8, p. 95 l. 9, p. 96 l. 9, p. 108 l. 17, p. 111 l. 10, p. 120 l. 5. See also Introd. ch. 3
Trinity, doctrine of pp. 50–53, pp. 63–66

Union of God and man in Christ pp. 55–59
Universality, as part of the three-fold rule p. 10 l. 10, p. 21 l. 16, p. 98 l. 16, p. 111 l. 12, p. 121 l. 1, p. 135 l. 7
Use, private, as opposed to tradition p. 87 l. 8

Valentine p. 38 l. 10
Vandals p. 3 l. 8 note
Vessel of election (of St Paul) p. 35 l. 16
Villula, of the monastery of Lerins p. 3 l. 12
Violence of Arians pp. 16, 17
Virgin Mary. See Mary
Virgins, profanation of p. 17 l. 1

Widows, profanation of p. 17 l. 1; protection of by Church p. 17 l. 1 note
Word (= Logos) p. 46 l. 4, p. 47 ll. 7, 8, 11, p. 49 ll. 10, 11, 16, p. 50 ll. 4, 14, p. 55 l. 10, p. 57 l. 4, p. 58 l. 7, p. 59 ll. 5, 11, p. 61 l. 4, p. 62 l. 4, p. 63 l. 11
Workhouses p. 17 l. 3

Xystus (Sixtus) p. 130 l. 11, p. 131, l. 4, p. 134 l. 2

Zosimus p. 9 l. 2 note on Pelagius, p. 24 l. 10 note; Julian's refusal to sign his 'tractoria' p. 118 l. 14

INDEX III

LATIN WORDS

Abdicare p. 93 ll. 9, 12
Aberrare p. 78 l. 10
Abicere p. 59 l. 7
Abnegare with acc. and inf. p. 65 l. 10
Abolere p. 93 l. 9
Absurdum p. 34 l. 6
Abuti p. 72 l. 12
Accessus p. 92 l. 4
Accurare p. 94 l. 16
Accurate p. 6 l. 1
Acerbitas p. 18 l. 11, p. 105 l. 12
Aconita p. 92 l. 10
Actio, actor p. 55 l. 11, p. 56 ll. 5, 8, p. 59 l. 16
Actus p. 56 l. 9, p. 99 l. 2
Aculeus (dentium) p. 105 l. 7
Acumen p. 44 l. 3, p. 75 l. 10
Adamas p. 84 l. 5
Adfectus (with gen.) p. 39 l. 13
Adficere (in pass.) p. 17 l. 6
Adflatus p. 96 l. 4
Adflictio cordis p. 81 l. 13
Adfligere p. 68 l. 7
Adglutinari p. 135 l. 12
Adicere p. 88 l. 4
Adinuenire p. 44 l. 11, p. 128 ll. 8, 12, p. 129 l. 13
Adinuentio p. 22 l. 10, p. 26 l. 1
Adinuentor p. 133 l. 2
Aditus (patefacere) p. 41 l. 5
Adiuuante domino p. 2 l. 4, p. 7 l. 9, p. 112 l. 10
Adminiculari p. 136 l. 1
Adminiculum p. 42 l. 8
Admiratio p. 41 l. 9, p. 70 l. 6, p. 73 l. 7
Admiscere p. 94 l. 2
Admittere p. 91 l. 10, p. 93 l. 7
Admixtio p. 44 l. 13
Adnuntiare p. 33 l. 9, p. 34 ll. 12, 13, p. 35 ll. 6, 8, 12, p. 37 l. 3, p. 102 l. 2, p. 135 l. 4
Adornare p. 88 l. 3
Adpellare p. 37 l. 11, p. 116 l. 12
Adpellatio p. 63 l. 3, p. 85 l. 3, p. 95 l. 13
Adpetere p. 81 l. 11, p. 108 l. 4
Adponere p. 94 l. 13
Adrogare p. 117 l. 14, p. 129 l. 8
Adscribere p. 46 l. 6, p. 60 l. 13, p. 65 l. 8
Adscensus p. 60 l. 9
Adsciscere p. 42 l. 2
Adsequi, opp. to sequi p. 20 l. 2, p. 69 l. 1
Adserere p. 21 l. 12, p. 40 l. 2, p. 46 l. 5, p. 47 l. 15, p. 48 l. 6, p. 50 l. 3, p. 63 l. 2, p. 64 ll. 4, 7, p. 100 l. 6, p. 134 ll. 15, 20
Adsertio p. 67 l. 8, p. 69 l. 9
Adsertor p. 26 l. 3, p. 27 l. 4, p. 39 l. 8, p. 75 l. 5
Adseuerare p. 50 l. 5, p. 78 l. 2, p. 130 l. 4
Adsiduitas p. 136 l. 2
Adsiduus p. 3 l. 3, p. 83 l. 4
Adsociari (ecclesiis) p. 14 l. 8
Adspergere p. 103 l. 12
Adspirante Christo p. 5 l. 2
Adstringere p. 99 l. 5
Adstruere, to build up p. 107 l. 2
Adsumere p. 49 ll. 11, 12, p. 58 l. 7
Adtendendus=audiendus p. 108 l. 6

Adtentio p. 3 l. 11, p. 7 l. 1
Adumbrare p. 56 l. 1, p. 103 l. 3
Adumbrate p. 57 l. 5
Aduertere p. 74 l. 1
Aduolare p. 70 l. 8
Aedificatio p. 44 l. 14
Aedificator ecclesiae p. 44 l. 10
Aequa expostulatio p. 40 l. 3
Aequalitas p. 50 l. 9, p. 64 l. 10, p. 118 l. 5
Aeramenta p. 87 l. 16
Aestimare = existimare p. 18 l. 9
Aestus p. 43 l. 8, p. 81 l. 5
Aetas p. 35 l. 5, p. 89 l. 6, p. 90 l. 5, p. 91 l. 7, p. 92 l. 13, p. 96 l. 9, p. 98 l. 2
Aeternus p. 3 l. 8, p. 27 l. 7, p. 54 l. 6, p. 55 l. 6, p. 116 l. 2
Aeuum p. 89 l. 19
Agere, to act on the stage p. 56 l. 6, p. 57 l. 7, p. 58 l. 1, p. 59 l. 10
Alias p. 66 l. 1
Allegoricus sermo p. 37 l. 10
Altitudo, of Scripture p. 8 l. 4
Amaritudo p. 104 l. 4, p. 105 l. 11
Amarus p. 82 l. 6
Amator Christi p. 15 l. 7; catholicae fidei p. 80 l. 8
Ambages p. 114 l. 15
Amittere p. 94 l. 13
Amoenus p. 69 l. 4
Amplificare p. 89 l. 3
Amputare p. 94 l. 12
Anathema, with nom. p. 31 l. 15, p. 32 ll. 4, 8, p. 33 l. 8, p. 135 l. 5; with dat. p. 64 ll. 2, 4, 6
Anathemare p. 34 l. 13, p. 35 l. 8, p. 36 l. 1, p. 102 l. 3
Anfractus p. 10 l. 2
Angeli p. 32 l. 12, p. 65 l. 14
Angelicus p. 32 l. 10, p. 110 l. 6
Angustiae p. 43 l. 9, p. 68 l. 6, p. 114 l. 1
Anima = soul p. 47 l. 2, p. 50 ll. 2, 3, p. 51 l. 15, p. 52 ll. 1, 2, 3, p. 53 ll. 8, 10, p. 55 ll. 1, 2, p. 59 l. 3, p. 89 l. 10
Anteferre p. 14 l. 12
Anteponere p. 12 l. 4
Antequam = quamdiu p. 113 l. 8
Antiquare p. 26 l. 11
Antiquitas p. 10 l. 10, p. 11 l. 3, p. 12 l. 7, p. 18 l. 2, p. 25 l. 10, p. 84 l. 11, p. 97 l. 7, p. 98 l. 16, p. 101 l. 10, p. 111 l. 12, p. 112 l. 5, p. 121 l. 2, p. 128 l. 1, p. 134 l. 11, p. 135 l. 7
Antistes = bishop p. 24 l. 7, p. 124 l. 3
Apostoli p. 32 l. 3, p. 35 l. 16, p. 102 l. 8, p. 104 l. 11, p. 106 ll. 5, 9, 13, p. 109 l. 6, p. 134 l. 21
Apostolice p. 132 l. 1
Apostolicus p. 10 l. 3, p. 21 l. 14, p. 22 l. 12, p. 24 l. 7, p. 29 l. 11, p. 31 ll. 10, 12, p. 83 l. 9, p. 133 l. 11
Arbitratus (noun) p. 120 l. 7
Arbitrium liberum p. 99 l. 1
Ardere, of the punishment of the wicked hereafter p. 27 l. 11
Area p. 80 ll. 12, 13
Argumenta p. 69 l. 8
Aries gregis p. 43 l. 3
Aroma p. 103 l. 12
Artus p. 89 l. 19
Arx scientiae p. 71 l. 10; catholica p. 109 l. 7
Auctor p. 5 l. 8, p. 27 l. 1, p. 28 l. 11, p. 36 l. 4, p. 75 l. 5, p. 80 l. 7, p. 87 l. 9, p. 100 l. 4, p. 134 l. 16
Auctoritas p. 7 l. 10, p. 8 l. 3, p. 22 l. 7, p. 24 l. 10, p. 27 l. 10, p. 29 l. 11, p. 31 l. 12, p. 37 l. 5, p. 43 l. 10, p. 66 l. 6, p. 68 l. 1, p. 71 l. 4, p. 74 l. 6, p. 79 l. 4, p. 106 l. 8, p. 107 l. 7, p. 108 l. 7, p. 114 l. 7, p. 116 l. 1, p. 119 l. 3, p. 120 l. 5, p. 121 ll. 9, 18, p. 130 l. 10
Audacia p. 22 l. 7, p. 35 l. 12
Auditor p. 38 l. 3, p. 43 l. 8
Aurum p. 87 ll. 14, 15, 16
Austerus p. 104 l. 2
Auertere p. 29 l. 3, p. 94 l. 8

Balsamum p. 92 l. 10
Baptismatis p. 60 l. 6
Baptismo p. 60 l. 9
Barathrum p. 101 l. 4, p. 109 l. 7
Basiliscus p. 96 l. 4

Beatus p. 22 l. 1, and often both of persons and things
Benedictio p. 29 l. 6, p. 30, l. 9
Benedictus p. 33 l. 10, p. 65 l. 13
Blandimenta p. 20 l. 4
Blasphemare p. 47 l. 1, p. 50 l. 8, p. 98 l. 9
Blasphemia p. 41 l. 5, p. 60 l. 3, p. 74 l. 3, p. 76 l. 2, p. 123 l. 4
Breuitas p. 14 l. 1, p. 101 l. 6
Breuiter p. 45 l. 13, p. 63 l. 14

Caecitas p. 21 l. 5
Caelestis p. 18 l. 1, p. 32 l. 12, p. 70 l. 13, p. 83 l. 3, p. 84 l. 5, p. 93 l. 2, p. 103 l. 11, p. 108 l. 15, p. 120 l. 10, p. 134 l. 18
Caelitus p. 20 l. 11
Caenum p. 131 l. 10, p. 132 l. 2
Calamitas p. 15 l. 10
Calcare p. 26 l. 11
Caligo p. 15 l. 4, p. 85 l. 2
Calumnia p. 44 l. 7
Canere, of the Psalms p. 4 l. 2
Candelabrum p. 22 l. 4
Canes rabidi, of heretics p. 49 l. 15
Canon (= the Bible) p. 8 l. 1, p. 23 l. 6, p. 111 l. 9, p. 114 l. 13, p. 120 ll. 4, 6
Capacitas mentis p. 75 l. 7
Capere intellectu, opp. to credere p. 82 l. 9
Capitulum, p. 73 l. 1, p. 86 l. 8
Captare p. 28 l. 2
Caput, of Christ p. 98 l. 8, p. 108 l. 10; of Satan p. 108 l. 10; of Rome p. 126 l. 1
Carduus p. 92 l. 8
Castus p. 18 l. 6, p. 94 l. 7, p. 98 l. 3
Catholicissime p. 62 l. 5
Catholicus, adjec. p. 7 l. 11, p. 10, ll. 4, 5, 8, p. 12 l. 1, p. 13 l. 5, p. 14 l. 9, p. 21 l. 15, p. 31 l. 10, p. 34 l. 11, p. 35 l. 6, p. 42 l. 3 etc.; substant. p. 22 l. 2, p. 24 l. 3, p. 27 l. 2, p. 36 l. 3 etc.
Caula = sheepfold p. 105 l. 2
Cautum, verb p. 34 l. 8; adj. p. 42 l. 15, p. 94 l. 10
Celebrare p. 11 l. 5, p. 41 l. 1, p. 122 l. 1
Celebritas p. 98 l. 6
Celeritas p. 14 l. 1
Censura apostolica p. 29 l. 11
Chirographum p. 95 l. 10
Chorus apostolorum p. 32 l. 3
Christotocos p. 48 l. 6
Cineres p. 28 l. 9
Cinnamomum p. 92 l. 9
Circumferendo p. 31 l. 8
Clerici p. 17 l. 2, p. 98 l. 4
Coaeternus p. 47 l. 7, p. 52 l. 8
Coapostolus p. 32 l. 6
Cognationes p. 16 l. 2
Colere p. 46 l. 8, p. 50 l. 16, p. 95 l. 5, p. 129 l. 12, p. 135 l. 1
Commaculare p. 12 l. 6
Comminatio p. 118 l. 13
Comminisci, with acc. p. 107 l. 4
Commonere p. 43 l. 7, p. 136 l. 2
Commonitorium p. 6 l. 3, p. 111 l. 7, p. 119 l. 5, (p. 119 l. 7), p. 120 l. 1, p. 135 l. 15
Communio p. 12 l. 2, p. 13 l. 5, p. 109 l. 11, p. 115 l. 1, p. 117 ll. 7, 12, p. 121 l. 13
Comparare p. 65 l. 14, p. 67 l. 6
Compingere p. 54 l. 5, p. 59 l. 19
Concedere p. 60 l. 4, p. 69 l. 2, p. 85 l. 13
Conceptio p. 60 l. 10
Conceptus p. 49 l. 7
Concilium p. 12 l. 12, p. 26 l. 9, p. 27 l. 10, p. 95 ll. 1, 8, p. 112 l. 7, p. 114 l. 9, p. 115 l. 7, p. 119 l. 3, p. 121 ll. 9, 19, p. 123 l. 14, p. 129 l. 2
Concinere sibi p. 123 l. 10
Concinnare haeresim p. 28 l. 1
Concordare sibi p. 113 l. 1
Concors p. 123 l. 10
Condemnare p. 27 l. 3
Condere haeresim p. 66 l. 10; arcem p. 71 l. 11
Condicio p. 32 l. 9, p. 54 l. 10, p. 70 l. 11, p. 81 l. 5
Conferre p. 13 l. 2, p. 113 l. 1
Confessio p. 65 l. 14, p. 68 l. 7, p. 71 l. 7
Confessor p. 21 ll. 6, 18, p. 70 l. 5, p. 77 l. 3, p. 98 l. 4, p. 115 l. 10, p. 122 l. 8, p. 124 l. 3, p. 125 ll. 1, 2, p. 130 l. 1

Confiteri p. 11 l. 3, p. 49 l. 16, p. 50 ll. 2, 12, p. 60 l. 3, p. 62 l. 10, p. 65 ll. 2, 12
Confundere p. 44 l. 8, p. 59 l. 6, p. 64 ll. 12, 17, p. 99 l. 7
Confusio p. 15 l. 5, p. 54 l. 1
Confutare p. 41 l. 2, p. 44 l. 5
Congeries p. 103 l. 6
Congregare p. 119 l. 2
Congregatio in unum p. 129 l. 6
Coniuges p. 17 l. 1
Coniunctio p. 54 l. 3
Coniuentia p. 132 l. 5
Conlega p. 24 l. 7, p. 27 l. 7, p. 118 l. 14, p. 127 l. 4
Conlibuisset p. 16 l. 11
Conquatere p. 16 l. 4, p. 84 l. 7
Consacerdotes p. 23 l. 7
Conscriptores p. 27 l. 3
Consectatores p. 27 l. 2
Consensio p. 11 ll. 1, 6, p. 98 l. 16, p. 111 l. 12, p. 112 l. 3, p. 113 l. 3, p. 121 l. 2, p. 134 l. 18, p. 135 l. 7
Consensus p. 13 l. 7, p. 75 l. 13, p. 116 l. 7, p. 121 l. 15, p. 123 l. 2
Consentaneus p. 123 l. 7
Consentire p. 46 l. 10, p. 112 l. 9, p. 115 l. 7, p. 117 ll. 9, 10, p. 133 l. 6, p. 134 l. 11
Consequens p. 91 l. 17, p. 112 l. 14
Conserere p. 75 l. 12
Consideratio temporis p. 3 l. 4
Consignare p. 25 l. 5, p. 95 l. 10
Consilarii p. 126 l. 6
Consolidare p. 91 l. 6, p. 94 l. 17
Conspiratio p. 21 l. 13, p. 26 l. 5
Constabilire p. 123 l. 12
Constitutio p. 29 l. 10
Constitutus p. 14 l. 7, p. 37 l. 2, p. 38 l. 2
Constringere p. 135 l. 16
Consubstantialis p. 52 l. 9
Consul p. 122 l. 2
Contagio p. 12 l. 5
Contagium p. 15 l. 8, p. 33 l. 12
Contaminare p. 15 l. 2, p. 33 l. 13
Contentio p. 23 l. 3
Conterere p. 17 l. 6, p. 84 l. 8
Continentes p. 98 l. 3
Conuellere p. 18 l. 4
Conuenire p. 49 l. 6, p. 122 l. 5
Conuenticulum p. 109 l. 11
Conuersatio p. 56 l. 1, p. 57 l. 3, p. 73 l. 8, p. 125 l. 3
Conuersio p. 27 l. 1, p. 59 l. 6, p. 65 l. 3
Conuertere p. 40 l. 6, p. 54 l. 3, p. 64 l. 5
Conuertibilis (= τρεπτός) p. 49 l. 16
Conuiuium p. 103 l. 1
Copiose p. 42 l. 11
Coronae sacerdotum p. 20 l. 10
Corpus praepositorum p. 86 l. 13
Corrumpere p. 73 l. 11
Corruptibilis p. 53 l. 14
Corruptio p. 58 l. 9, p. 64 l. 5
Creator p. 90 l. 6, p. 100 l. 5
Credulitas, in good sense p. 131 l. 10, p. 132 l. 1
Culmina, of persons p. 16 l. 7
Cultor Christi p. 15 l. 7; unitatis p. 118 l. 6
Cultus p. 86 l. 14
Cumulate p. 130 l. 7
Curiositas p. 18 l. 6, p. 44 l. 11
Custodia p. 32 l. 8, p. 43 l. 7
Custos p. 87 l. 10, p. 94 l. 11

Daemones p. 20 l. 6
Debilitari p. 91 l. 4
Decalogus p. 126 l. 5
Decernere p. 31 l. 13, p. 33 l. 5, p. 79 l. 9, p. 121 l. 10, p. 134 l. 10
Decet, with subj. p. 91 l. 5, p. 92 l. 12
Decidere p. 39 l. 12, p. 66 l. 9, p. 72 l. 8
Decretum p. 13 l. 1, p. 21 l. 15, p. 26 l. 9, p. 95 l. 8, p. 112 l. 7, p. 119 l. 3, p. 133 l. 11, p. 135 l. 6
Dediscere p. 82 l. 8
Definire p. 95 l. 1, p. 128 l. 2
Definita p. 18 l. 4, p. 21 l. 15, p. 134 l. 2, p. 135 l. 5
Definitio p. 11 l. 8, p. 91 l. 11
Deinceps p. 14 l. 11, p. 16 l. 8, p. 43 l. 4, p. 77 l. 2, p. 79 l. 9, p. 82 l. 7, p. 91 l. 1, p. 93 l. 11, p. 94 l. 6
Deitas p. 51 l. 12, p. 64 l. 13
Demetere p. 92 l. 3

Deponere aliquem p. 72 l. 5; aliquid p. 5 l. 3, p. 82 l. 3, p. 105 l. 4
Depositum p. 5 l. 7, p. 36 l. 6, p. 83 l. 11, p. 86 l. 9, p. 87 ll. 1, 5, 11, p. 96 l. 2, p. 135 l. 3
Depullare p. 17 l. 1
Desciscere p. 117 l. 7
Destituere = deficere p. 26 l. 8; with acc. p. 132 l. 6
Detestari, pass. p. 14 l. 8; act. p. 135 l. 13
Detexere p. 90 l. 5, p. 104 l. 13
Detruncare p. 93 l. 4
Deuotio fidei p. 24 l. 9
Diabolus p. 27 l. 11, p. 107 ll. 9, 10, p. 108 ll. 9, 11, p. 111 l. 2
Diffamare, to defame p. 28 l. 10
Differentia p. 55 l. 4, p. 64 l. 17
Digerere, to digest p. 81 l. 4
Dignus with inf. p. 44 l. 1 (cf. p. 58 l. 10)
Dilatare p. 91 l. 6, p. 114 l. 2
Disceptari p. 122 l. 3
Disciplina p. 29 l. 10, p. 75 l. 6
Discissus p. 47 l. 11, p. 99 l. 6
Discrepare p. 92 l. 1
Discrimen, gerere p. 16 l. 10
Disertus p. 77 l. 1
Dispendium p. 91 l. 11
Dispensare p. 110 l. 5, p. 116 l. 15
Disponere, rem p. 129 l. 10
Disputare p. 42 l. 11, p. 69 l. 6, p. 129 l. 5
Disserere p. 135 l. 16
Dissimulatio, negligence p. 133 l. 6
Distinctio, = differentia p. 64 ll. 12, 15; = honos p. 92 l. 6, p. 93 l. 6
Distinctius p. 51 l. 2
Distractio p. 4 l. 2
Districtio, severity p. 32 l. 5, p. 100 l. 1
Diuinitas p. 47 ll. 8, 14, p. 50 l. 8, p. 51 l. 11, p. 53 l. 7, p. 54 l. 1, p. 64 ll. 5, 10
Diuinitus p. 27 l. 12, p. 37 l. 1, p. 61 l. 6, p. 80 l. 6, p. 110 l. 5, p. 116 l. 15, p. 118 l. 11, p. 134 l. 9
Documentum p. 37 l. 6
Dogmatizare p. 46 l. 7
Domesticus p. 94 l. 2
Dominica confessio p. 68 l. 6
Donante deo p. 26 l. 9
Dubitare, with acc. and inf. = to doubt p. 27 l. 7, p. 108 l. 9, p. 127 l. 5
Dubitatio p. 133 l. 3
Dubium non est, with acc. and inf. p. 90 l. 2; with quin and subj. p. 107 l. 2
Dum, causal = quia p. 18 l. 1, p. 39 l. 11, p. 72 l. 11
Dumtaxat p. 13 l. 4, p. 89 l. 8, p. 114 l. 16, p. 120 l. 10, p. 121 l. 12
Duplex p. 28 l. 6, p. 52 l. 4
Duritia p. 84 l. 4

Ebullire p. 80 l. 10, p. 98 l. 14
Effigies p. 91 l. 2
Effingere p. 56 ll. 3, 8
Efflagitare, with acc. and inf. p. 3 l. 9; with ut p. 40 l. 1
Elaborare p. 69 l. 3
Elidere p. 75 l. 10
Elimpidare p. 69 l. 7
Eloquium p. 8 l. 5, p. 41 l. 1, p. 42 ll. 10, 15, p. 80 l. 3, p. 84 l. 5, p. 103 l. 12, p. 111 l. 1, p. 129 l. 17
Emendatio p. 83 l. 5
Enucleare p. 51 l. 2, p. 94 l. 17
Eradicare p. 80 l. 6
Ergastula p. 17 l. 3
Errabundus p. 21 l. 11
Erroneus p. 130 l. 5
Erubescere, with inf. p. 81 l. 2
Eualere, with inf. p. 20 l. 3
Euangelia p. 102 l. 8, p. 107 l. 9
Euangelicus p. 108 l. 7
Euidenter p. 101 l. 7
Euidentia, clearness p. 93 l. 5
Euoluere p. 89 l. 11, p. 92 l. 4
Exabundare p. 70 l. 2
Exaequare p. 118 l. 10
Exaggerare p. 13 l. 12
Exagitare p. 101 l. 3
Excedere, with acc. p. 65 l. 17
Excellentia, angelica p. 32 l. 10
Excitus fama p. 71 l. 8
Excolere p. 92 ll. 5, 12, p. 95 l. 6, p. 135 l. 1

Excorporare p. 118 l. 15
Excurare p. 93 l. 3
Excursus p. 45 l. 12, p. 65 l. 17
Excutere p. 81 l. 1, p. 82 l. 2
Exemplum, of Biblical texts p. 103 l. 5, p. 106 l. 7, p. 107 l. 9
Exhalare p. 103 l. 11, p. 105 l. 13
Exhibere hominem p. 59 l. 1
Exoptare, with inf. p. 20 l. 3
Exosus p. 88 l. 12
Expauescere, with acc. p. 81 l. 10
Expedire, to discover p. 43 l. 12
Explanare p. 130 l. 2
Explicare p. 5 l. 12, p. 66 l. 1, p. 89 l. 12
Explodere p. 25 l. 10, p. 64 l. 7, p. 128 l. 13
Exponere, to explain p. 8 l. 8, p. 45 ll. 2, 13, p. 86 l. 5, p. 88 l. 5, p. 105 l. 10, p. 114 l. 12, p. 123 l. 11
Expositor p. 36 l. 4
Expostulatio p. 40 l. 3
Expressus p. 51 l. 2, p. 94 l. 16
Exscindere p. 93 l. 8
Exsculpere p. 88 l. 3
Exsequi p. 70 l. 7, p. 75 l. 11
Exserere p. 31 l. 12
Extorris p. 17 l. 5
Extraneus p. 38 l. 13, p. 42 l. 6, p. 94 l. 2, p. 97 l. 5

Fabulae p. 26 l. 10
Fallaciter p. 57 l. 5, p. 114 l. 12
Fallax p. 59 l. 11, p. 105 l. 3
Fallere p. 49 l. 1, p. 107 l. 5
Falsitas p. 111 l. 6
Famis p. 17 l. 6
Fastidire, with acc. p. 101 l. 10
Fastidium p. 136 l. 3
Fateri p. 11 l. 2, p. 60 l. 11
Fatiscere p. 84 l. 6
Feliciter p. 115 l. 4
Felix, of Origen p. 70 l. 3
Fidelis, adj. p. 21 l. 1, p. 77 l. 2, p. 80 l. 8, p. 122 l. 6, p. 124 l. 3; subs. p. 98 l. 2, p. 108 l. 12
Fideliter p. 2 l. 5, p. 88 l. 3, p. 94 l. 14, p. 112 l. 11, p. 115 l. 3
Fides, see note p. 97 l. 8
Fidissimus p. 5 l. 2, p. 82 l. 4
Fiducia p. 6 l. 1, p. 129 l. 7
Figere p. 79 l. 6, p. 80 l. 8, p. 119 l. 4
Fingere p. 18 l. 9, p. 58 l. 6, p. 59 ll. 1, 8
Flagrare p. 71 l. 1
Florere p. 92 l. 13
Fluctuare p. 43 l. 11
Fluctus p. 81 l. 8, p. 82 l. 6
Fluenta p. 82 l. 8
Flumen p. 26 l. 3
Fodere p. 62 l. 2
Foetores p. 103 l. 10
Forma = example p. 14 l. 10, p. 24 l. 2
Formula = example p. 22 l. 5
Fraudare aliquem aliqua re p. 62 l. 7
Fraus p. 7 l. 7, p. 12 l. 8, p. 15 l. 4, p. 19 l. 10, p. 93 l. 7
Fraudulenter p. 87 l. 15, p. 114 l. 12
Fraudulentia p. 3 l. 10, p. 27 l. 13, p. 49 l. 3, p. 107 l. 6
Frequenter p. 13 l. 8, p. 115 l. 6
Frons = audacia p. 84 l. 4
Frugem p. 92 l. 3
Frumentum p. 80 l. 11, p. 91 l. 16
Fucare p. 85 l. 3, p. 103 l. 7, p. 106 l. 12
Fulmen p. 76 l. 3, p. 84 l. 7
Fundamenta p. 120 l. 11
Fundare p. 18 l. 2
Furari p. 114 ll. 4, 12
Furia personified p. 16 l. 6
Furiae p. 14 l. 4, p. 77 l. 8, p. 101 l. 3
Furor p. 94 l. 9
Furtim p. 85 l. 11

Gehenna p. 27 l. 4
Geminus p. 130 l. 10
Gemma p. 88 l. 3
Generalis p. 7 l. 4, p. 112 l. 7, p. 116 l. 1
Generaliter p. 86 l. 12
Generare p. 43 l. 9, p. 48 l. 5, p. 53 l. 6, p. 63 l. 6
Genitus p. 53 l. 5
Gentes p. 35 l. 16, p. 98 l. 6
Gentiles p. 37 l. 12, p. 41 l. 2, p. 71 l. 7, p. 76 l. 1
Germanus p. 79 l. 1, p. 91 l. 16
Germen p. 92 l. 5

Gesta, Acts of a Council p. 127 l. 7, p. 128 ll. 4, 6
Gestire p. 83 l. 2
Gloria p. 21 l. 17, p. 62 l. 7, p. 70 l. 6, p. 72 l. 3
Glorificare p. 65 l. 15
Gradus p. 89 l. 7
Gramen p. 104 l. 5
Gratulari aliquid p. 88 l. 6
Grauitas p. 25 l. 7, p. 80 l. 11
Grex Christi p. 33 l. 12, p. 40 l. 6, p. 43 l. 2, p. 105 l. 2
Gurges p. 100 l. 2

Habitaculum p. 4 l. 1
Habitus p. 89 l. 15
Haurire, to drink p. 81 l. 3
Heredas p. 21 l. 15
Hereditas p. 108 l. 15
Historiae p. 70 l. 12, p. 75 l. 6
Hodieque=hodie quoque p. 120 l. 3
Horreo dicere p. 36 l. 7, p. 93 l. 8
Horrescere p. 135 l. 13
Humanitas p. 51 l. 12, p. 53 ll. 7, 8, p. 54 l. 1, p. 64 l. 6
Humilitas p. 5 l. 3, p. 118 l. 11, p. 129 l. 2

Iactare p. 105 l. 11, p. 129 l. 16
Iactitare p. 27 l. 10, p. 38 l. 9, p. 46 l. 10, p. 49 l. 5
Idoneus p. 88 l. 1
Ille, redundant after quis p. 20 l. 2, p. 27 l. 5, p. 88 l. 11, p. 89 l. 19, p. 94 l. 15; redundant after quisquis p. 32 l. 13, p. 56 l. 1; redundant after quicumque p. 110 l. 4, p. 114 l. 5; redundant after quiuis p. 68 l. 1
Imbecillitas memoriae p. 3 l. 2
Imitari p. 58 ll. 4, 10, p. 59 l. 7
Imitatio p. 55 l. 11, p. 56 l. 5, p. 59 l. 9
Imitatiuus p. 59 l. 15
Immaculatus p. 94 l. 5, p. 104 l. 12
Immori p. 135 l. 12
Impassibilis p. 52 l. 12, p. 53 l. 4
Impellere p. 81 l. 6
Impensius p. 117 l. 3
Imperator p. 16 l. 6, p. 18 l. 10, p. 20 l. 5, p. 70 l. 13, p. 71 l. 3
Imperium (Empire) p. 16 l. 4; (Court) p. 20 l. 6, p. 40 l. 9, p. 70 l. 12
Impetus humanus p. 33 l. 4
Impiissime p. 62 l. 5
Impudenter p. 87 l. 15
Impudentia p. 84 l. 4
Impugnare p. 113 l. 7
Impugnator p. 134 l. 17
Impulsus uoluntatis p. 101 l. 2
Inauditus p. 38 l. 14, p. 48 l. 3, p. 79 l. 10
Incarnatio p. 47 l. 1, p. 50 l. 8
Incautus p. 105 l. 4
Incendia p. 5 l. 5
Incessere, to assail p. 133 ll. 7, 10, p. 134 l. 1
Incitato errore p. 81 l. 7
Incohare p. 94 l. 16
Incommutabilis p. 53 l. 3, p. 59 l. 12
Incongruus p. 91 l. 15
Incorporare p. 98 l. 8, p. 118 l. 14
Incorruptus p. 18 l. 5, p. 94 l. 7, p. 96 l. 9
Increatus p. 52 l. 11
Incrementum p. 92 l. 2
Inculcare p. 33 l. 6, p. 64 l. 1, p. 67 l. 1
Incus, metaph. p. 84 l. 4
Indefessus p. 22 l. 2
Indicere p. 3 l. 11
Indicio esse p. 44 l. 6
Indifferenter p. 60 l. 11
Indubitatum p. 115 l. 8
Inducere p. 45 l. 10
Inductio p. 15 l. 11
Indulgere p. 72 l. 12
Ineffabilis p. 65 l. 7
Inexhaustus p. 101 l. 4
Infalsare p. 113 l. 9
Infestare p. 105 l. 2
Inflammare p. 101 l. 4
Informare p. 94 l. 15
Infucatus p. 106 l. 12
Inhaerere p. 12 l. 7, p. 121 l. 7, p. 135 l. 12
Inlibatus p. 87 l. 12, p. 91 l. 7
Inlustrius p. 88 l. 5
Inlustro p. 13 l. 12, p. 67 l. 1, p. 68 l. 4, p. 124 l. 6, p. 131 l. 1
Inrationalis p. 81 l. 10
Inridere p. 28 l. 12, p. 134 l. 2

Insanus p. 44 l. 7, p. 77 l. 8, p. 78 l. 1
Inscitia p. 12 l. 11
Insectari p. 135 l. 14
Insinuatio p. 33 l. 6
Insolentius p. 72 l. 12
Inspiratus p. 134 l. 18
Instantius p. 95 l. 4
Instituere p. 98 l. 15
Instituta p. 18 l. 3, p. 23 l. 8, p. 36 l. 6
Institutio, teaching p. 83 l. 4, p. 92 l. 2
Institutor p. 87 l. 10
Instrumenta p. 70 l. 2
Insulae p. 98 l. 6
Insultare p. 133 l. 12
Integer p. 54 l. 1, p. 62 l. 4, p. 86 l. 14, p. 94 l. 5
Integritas p. 23 l. 4, p. 72 l. 10, p. 93 l. 6, p. 121 l. 3
Intellectus, subs. p. 53 l. 10, p. 82 l. 9
Intellegentia p. 8 l. 2, p. 59 l. 8, p. 89 l. 7, p. 95 l. 12, p. 120 l. 10
Intercidere p. 91 l. 3
Interdicere urbes p. 17 l. 4
Interponere p. 128 l. 3, p. 131 l. 2
Interpretari p. 8 l. 6, p. 45 l. 8, p. 73 l. 2, p. 105 l. 11, p. 106 l. 11, p. 107 l. 1, p. 109 l. 6, p. 111 l. 10, p. 114 l. 13, p. 120 l. 7
Interpretatio p. 10 l. 3
Intolerandus p. 60 l. 3
Introducere p. 18 l. 2, p. 48 l. 2, p. 64 l. 7
Inuehere p. 15 l. 10, p. 24 l. 1, p. 29 l. 13
Inuenire, to make a list p. 70 l. 1
Inuestigare p. 113 l. 5
Inueteratus p. 84 l. 4, p. 114 l. 2
Inuicem p. 3 l. 7, p. 34 l. 10
Inuiolatus p. 87 l. 12
Inuolutius edita p. 28 l. 3
Iteratus p. 33 l. 6, p. 64 l. 1
Itidem p. 11 l. 6
Iudaicus p. 46 l. 2
Iudex p. 123 l. 15, p. 126 l. 6
Iudicium p. 27 l. 13, p. 40 l. 10, p. 126 l. 8
Labefactare p. 16 l. 1
Lacerare p. 40 l. 6, p. 106 l. 2
Lactentes p. 89 l. 17
Lacteus p. 69 l. 4
Laetare p. 92 l. 4
Latenter p. 39 l. 9, p. 85 l. 12
Latera, opp. to caput p. 126 l. 1
Latinus p. 15 l. 3, p. 42 l. 13, p. 75 l. 1, p. 125 l. 6
Latitare p. 90 l. 2, p. 103 l. 9
Laudatio p. 65 l. 14
Laute p. 5 l. 12
Lectio p. 3 l. 3
Legitimus p. 90 l. 3, p. 101 l. 9, p. 135 l. 11
Lepra p. 44 l. 12
Leuitae p. 17 l. 2, p. 98 l. 4
Leuitas p. 29 l. 14, p. 35 l. 13, p. 80 l. 11
Lex p. 5 l. 9, p. 7 l. 10, p. 16 l. 7, p. 26 l. 4, p. 37 l. 5, p. 69 l. 10, p. 78 l. 8, p. 91 l. 6, p. 103 l. 9, p. 105 l. 5, p. 106 l. 7, p. 107 l. 1, p. 109 l. 5, p. 113 l. 4, p. 115 l. 4, p. 130 l. 2, p. 135 l. 16
Libido p. 18 l. 7, p. 44 l. 11
Licentia p. 93 l. 8
Limare p. 6 l. 9, p. 93 l. 3
Limes p. 18 l. 6
Littera p. 2 l. 5, p. 20 l. 11, p. 48 l. 9, p. 95 l. 11
Litura p. 20 l. 11
Lolium p. 92 l. 10
Luce clarius p. 23 l. 1, p. 39 l. 3, p. 78 l. 8, p. 98 l. 17
Lumen p. 27 l. 6, p. 85 l. 3, p. 124 l. 9, p. 132 l. 2
Lupanar p. 94 l. 6
Lupinus p. 105 l. 5
Lupus p. 40 l. 6, p. 43 l. 4, p. 104 l. 10, p. 105 ll. 1, 4

Machinamenta p. 107 l. 3
Machinari p. 28 l. 1, p. 49 l. 1
Magisterium p. 37 l. 6, p. 39 l. 11, p. 71 l. 4, p. 72 l. 15, p. 106 l. 17, p. 129 l. 17
Magnificentia p. 68 l. 12
Maiestas p. 61 l. 2, p. 108 l. 3
Maledicta p. 28 l. 14
Malleus p. 84 l. 7
Manare p. 100 l. 4, p. 114 l. 1
Manifestare p. 42 l. 12

Manifeste p. 115 l. 6
Manna p. 31 l. 11
Martyrium p. 68 l. 4
Maternus p. 53 l. 9
Maturescere p. 92 l. 13
Maturioris aeui p. 89 l. 19
Maturitas p. 89 l. 13
Medicamen p. 104 l. 5
Medicina p. 81 l. 14
Mel p. 69 l. 5, p. 104 l. 3
Memoria p. 3 l. 2, p. 23 l. 4, p. 24 l. 6, p. 28 l. 8, p. 41 l. 14, p. 63 l. 15, p. 123 l. 12, p. 136 l. 1
Mensura p. 91 l. 8
Merere p. 21 l. 17, p. 28 l. 14, p. 73 l. 2, p. 78 l. 2, p. 115 l. 4
Meretrix p. 85 l. 15
Merito, with iure p. 21 l. 19, p. 123 l. 5, p. 135 l. 9; with gen. = causa p. 71 l. 1, p. 125 l. 4
Metalla p. 17 l. 4
Metropolitani p. 129 l. 3
Minae p. 20 l. 4
Minus esse p. 112 l. 8
Misellus p. 108 l. 2
Miseranda, condicio p. 81 l. 5
Miseratio erga aliquem p. 81 l. 13
Moles p. 44 l. 8, p. 67 l. 1, p. 76 l. 3, p. 78 l. 7, p. 84 l. 6
Molimen p. 21 l. 12, p. 26 l. 6, p. 33 l. 6, p. 80 l. 12
Mollities p. 105 l. 7
Monasterium p. 4 l. 1, p. 17 l. 2
Monumenta, of books p. 42 l. 11
Morsus p. 40 l. 8
Mortales p. 23 l. 6, p. 69 l. 12
Motu proprio p. 101 l. 1
Mutabilis = conuertibilis p. 50 l. 14
Mutare p. 33 l. 1, p. 83 l. 2, p. 89 l. 16
Mutilare p. 93 l. 4
Mundus p. 14 l. 8, p. 21 l. 2, p. 70 l. 8, p. 85 l. 13
Munus p. 6 l. 1, p. 20 l. 7, p. 62 l. 9, p. 88 l. 1, p. 129 l. 17, p. 134 l. 18
Musca p. 36 l. 2
Mysterium p. 45 l. 9, p. 50 l. 7, p. 62 l. 3, p. 63 l. 10, p. 65 ll. 7, 16, p. 85 l. 14, p. 116 l. 14

Natio p. 16 l. 3, p. 98 l. 7
Natiuitas p. 60 l. 6
Naufragia p. 5 l. 5
Nausea p. 31 l. 9
Necdum = nondum p. 49 l. 10
Necessitas, cogency of reasoning p. 75 l. 12
Negligere p. 28 l. 12, p. 118 l. 15
Nequitia p. 28 l. 6
Nexus p. 69 l. 9
Norma p. 10 l. 4
Nouare p. 25 l. 1, p. 129 l. 7
Noue p. 88 l. 8
Nouitas p. 12 l. 8, p. 18 ll. 2, 8, p. 22 l. 7, p. 24 l. 7, p. 25 l. 10, p. 26 l. 8 and often
Noxius p. 39 l. 10, p. 41 l. 2, p. 104 l. 5, p. 112 l. 12, p. 133 l. 6
Nuditas p. 17 l. 6, p. 28 l. 11, p. 29 l. 2
Nullatenus = haudquaquam p. 11 l. 4
Numerus, constituent parts p. 89 l. 11; number p. 26 l. 3, p. 90 l. 5, p. 91 l. 2, p. 110 l. 4, p. 122 l. 5, p. 123 l. 8, p. 129 l. 2
Nuncupare p. 37 l. 9, p. 116 l. 13
Nutabundus p. 43 l. 11, p. 47 l. 6

Oblectare p. 31 l. 11
Obliuio p. 6 l. 3
Obrepere p. 105 l. 4, p. 122 l. 4
Obseruare, to watch p. 30 l. 5, p. 43 l. 7, p. 92 l. 13, p. 112 l. 11; to worship p. 37 l. 13
Obuoluere p. 105 l. 6
Offensa p. 28 l. 14
Officium p. 6 l. 1, p. 56 l. 5
Omnimodis p. 46 l. 6, p. 129 l. 8
Operae pretium p. 51 l. 1
Opiniuncula p. 115 l. 12
Opportunitas p. 3 l. 5
Ora p. 104 l. 2
Oracula p. 26 l. 4, p. 83 l. 6, p. 104 l. 1
Orbis p. 11 l. 3, p. 15 l. 2, p. 98 l. 7, p. 125 l. 6, p. 126 l. 1

Ordo p. 90 l. 4, p. 123 l. 8
Ouilis p. 104 l. 12

Palatium p. 16 l. 7, p. 20 l. 5
Palea p. 80 l. 11
Papa p. 24 l. 6, p. 130 l. 11, p. 131 ll. 2, 3, p. 132 l. 3
Paradisus p. 92 l. 9
Particula p. 12 l. 2
Partus uirginis p. 49 ll. 5, 7, p. 59 l. 19, p. 65 l. 1
Passibilis p. 52 l. 12
Pastor p. 43 l. 1
Patrare officia p. 56 l. 6
Patrocinia p. 26 l. 1
Pendentem in se, of Origen p. 73 l. 7
Pendit parui p. 72 l. 13
Pendulus p. 81 l. 13
Penetralia p. 97 l. 4
Per, distributive p. 22 l. 6, p. 99 l. 2, p. 116 l. 15
Perauolare p. 80 l. 13
Percutere p. 96 l. 5, p. 100 l. 2, p. 106 l. 3
Perfunctorie p. 33 l. 3, p. 118 l. 1
Pergere, to journey p. 71 l. 9
Perhibere p. 49 l. 6, p. 71 l. 2, p. 126 l. 2
Perlegere p. 69 l. 12
Permittere p. 37 l. 9
Permixtio p. 33 l. 12, p. 131 l. 10, p. 132 l. 2
Permutatio p. 89 ll. 1, 3, p. 91 l. 10
Perseueranter p. 13 l. 8, p. 115 l. 6
Persistere in fidei communione p. 117 l. 13
Persona p. 37 l. 2 and often. See note p. 55 l. 8
Personalis gratia p. 110 l. 1
Perspicue p. 45 l. 6, p. 101 l. 7
Perspicuitas p. 132 l. 1
Perstringere p. 5 l. 10, p. 72 l. 2
Persuadere, with acc. p. 42 l. 5, p. 74 l. 6, (p. 75, l. 3); with dat. p. 109 l. 1
Pertimescere, with acc. p. 29 l. 9, p. 103 l. 8, p. 105 l. 7
Pertractare p. 37 l. 4, p. 86 l. 8
Pestiferus p. 12 l. 3
Phantasia, docetism p. 57 l. 1
Philosophia p. 69 l. 1, p. 75 l. 4, p. 79 l. 5, p. 93 l. 2
Philosophus p. 70 l. 9, p. 71 l. 7, p. 75 l. 4
Piaculum, sin p. 29 l. 9, p. 36 l. 9
Pietas p. 25 l. 3, p. 28 l. 13, p. 94 l. 8
Placere deo p. 66 l. 1
Plantaria p. 92 l. 8
Plateus p. 103 l. 2
Plebs dei p. 42 l. 5
Plenitudo p. 46 l. 3, p. 50 l. 9, p. 64 ll. 2, 10, p. 70 l. 2, p. 93 l. 6, p. 130 l. 9
Pondus p. 14 l. 1, p. 75 l. 10, p. 80 l. 12, p. 84 l. 6
Portio p. 112 l. 3
Portiuncula p. 12 l. 5, p. 15 l. 2
Portus religionis p. 5 l. 1, p. 82 l. 1
Praecauere p. 60 l. 1, p. 129 l. 8
Praecipitare p. 14 l. 4, p. 109 l. 8, p. 121 l. 5
Praecipue p. 80 l. 2, p. 113 l. 5
Praeco, of St Paul p. 35 l. 17
Praecolorare p. 104 l. 6
Praedicatio p. 134 l. 5
Praedicator p. 57 l. 1, p. 133 l. 2
Praedolere p. 86 l. 11
Praeiudicium p. 39 l. 11
Praeliciare p. 90 l. 6
Praemonstrare p. 22 l. 5
Praepedire p. 39 l. 12
Praeponere p. 13 l. 1, p. 14 l. 6, p. 79 l. 4, p. 112 l. 8
Praepositi = episcopi p. 86 l. 13
Praescientia p. 62 l. 1, p. 86 l. 10
Praestare p. 6 l. 5, p. 7 l. 2, p. 58 l. 9
Praesumere p. 72 l. 14, p. 99 l. 1, p. 118 l. 15, p. 129 l. 7
Praesumptio p. 5 l. 8, p. 24 l. 1, p. 81 l. 9, p. 121 l. 17
Praetendere p. 107 l. 7
Praeuaricatio p. 99 l. 4
Prauitas p. 7 l. 5
Presbyter p. 63 ll. 5, 7
Priscus p. 93 l. 2
Priuatim p. 102 l. 9
Priuilegium p. 62 l. 7
Probabiles magistri p. 13 l. 6, p. 121 l. 14
Probatio p. 44 l. 8

Processus p. 89 l. 11, p. 93 l. 2
Proculcare p. 134 l. 9
Prodigiosus p. 91 l. 4, p. 99 l. 3
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Profanitas p. 73 l. 10, p. 112 l. 5, p. 114 l. 6, p. 132 l. 2, p. 134 l. 19
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Prohibere p. 38 l. 17
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Proloquia p. 104 l. 11, p. 123 l. 11
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Prophetia p. 78 l. 2
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Propositum, monastic resolution p. 4 l. 4; purpose p. 29 l. 6, p. 45 l. 4
Proprietas p. 54 l. 7, p. 55 l. 6, p. 64 ll. 6, 12, p. 91 l. 11, p. 92 l. 5, p. 93 l. 6, p. 95 l. 13
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Prouinciola p. 21 l. 13
Prouulgare p. 128 l. 8
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Sanctitas p. 7 l. 2, p. 129 l. 2
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Schismatici p. 116 l. 3
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Scorpio p. 96 l. 3
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Secernere p. 116 l. 1
Secretim p. 85 l. 11
Secretum p. 4 l. 1, p. 85 l. 14
Secta p. 46 l. 1, p. 66 l. 9, p. 75 l. 5
Sectari p. 11 l. 8, p. 21 l. 15, p. 98 l. 12, p. 107 l. 3, p. 116 l. 5
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Sententia p. 8 l. 7 and often
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Seueritas p. 31 l. 13
Signare p. 95 l. 13
Significare p. 5 l. 11, p. 38 l. 6, p. 42 l. 5
Simplex, innocent p. 106 l. 12; undiluted p. 103 l. 11
Simplicitas p. 72 l. 14
Simpliciter p. 95 l. 2
Simulatio p. 59 l. 4
Simulatorius p. 59 l. 15, p. 65 l. 4
Singillatim p. 13 l. 11, p. 93 l. 12
Singularis p. 54 l. 2, p. 62 l. 8, p. 63 l. 10, p. 67 l. 7
Singularitas p. 54 l. 6, p. 64 l. 11
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Status p. 89 l. 15
Statuta p. 134 l. 4
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Subditiuus p. 91 l. 16
Subdoli p. 106 l. 12
Subinducere p. 39 l. 10, p. 80 l. 1, p. 107 l. 6
Subleuare p. 6 l. 2
Sublimare p. 91 l. 7
Subsistere p. 52 l. 4, p. 58 ll. 2, 5, 6, p. 59 ll. 2, 7
Substantia p. 47 l. 9 and often
Substantiue p. 57 l. 2
Substantiuus p. 59 l. 16, p. 65 l. 5
Successio p. 23 l. 2, p. 96 l. 9, p. 100 l. 3
Succumbere p. 84 l. 6
Sucus p. 104 l. 5
Sufficere p. 6 l. 4, p. 8 l. 2, p. 32 l. 8, p. 83 l. 3, p. 120 l. 6, p. 130 l. 7
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Trinitas p. 46 ll. 3, 9, p. 49 l. 16, p. 50 ll. 7, 9, 17, p. 51 ll. 4, 6, p. 64 ll. 3, 8, 9, 10, 12, p. 65 l. 17, p. 99 ll. 6, 7
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Vesania p. 14 l. 12, p. 21 l. 4, p. 82 l. 13
Vestitus p. 104 ll. 9, 10
Veto p. 113 l. 9
Vetustas = antiquitas p. 11 l. 6 and often
Vexare p. 16 l. 9
Victoriae p. 75 l. 15
Viduae p. 17 l. 1
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Villula p. 3 l. 12
Vincenter p. 131 l. 6
Vincere p. 24 l. 9
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Virginalis conceptus p. 60 l. 10
Virgineus p. 49 l. 7
Virgo p. 17 l. 1; Maria p. 47 ll. 5, 6, p. 49 l. 6, p. 52 l. 7, p. 59 l. 19, p. 62 l. 5, p. 64 l. 7, p. 65 l. 12
Virus p. 105 l. 13
Visu percutere p. 96 l. 4
Vita, aeterna p. 3 l. 7; praesens p. 5 l. 14, p. 20 l. 5, p. 68 l. 1
Vitiare uolumina p. 114 l. 2
Viuificare p. 20 l. 9
Vmbracula p. 103 l. 9
Vnicus p. 63 l. 11
Vnire p. 59 l. 6, p. 60 l. 8, p. 65 l. 1, p. 118 l. 10
Vnitas p. 46 l. 9, p. 49 l. 10, p. 54 l. 2, p. 55 l. 6, p. 59 l. 18, p. 60 ll. 8, 11, p. 62 l. 2, p. 63 l. 11, p. 64 ll. 13, 16, p. 65 ll. 6, 16, p. 99 ll. 6, 7, p. 117 ll. 3, 9, p. 118 l. 6, p. 121 ll. 3, 13
Vniuersalis p. 12 l. 2 and often
Vniuersaliter p. 10 l. 9, p. 12 l. 12, p. 79 l. 7
Vniuersi = omnes p. 8 l. 4, p. 14 ll. 8, 12, p. 16 l. 8, p. 25 l. 9, p. 26 l. 10, p. 86 l. 12, p. 120 l. 6, p. 134 l. 14
Vniuersitas p. 10 l. 10, p. 11 l. 1, p. 21 ll. 9, 16, p. 98 l. 16, p. 111 ll. 12, 13, p. 112 l. 4, p. 121 l. 1, p. 135 l. 7
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